WORKS OF THOMAS NASHE

VOLUME II

THE WORKS OF THOMAS NASHE

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXTS

BY RONALD B. McKERROW TEXT: VOL. II

SIDGWICK & JACKSON, LTD., 3 ADAM STREET
ADELPHI, LONDON. (MCMX)

This volume was originally issued by A. H. Bullen in 1904

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

CHRISTS TEARES OVER IERVSALEM

Entry in the Stationers' Register:

8° die Septembris./. [1593]

Alice Charlewood Entred for her Copye vnder th[e h]andes of the Bishop of Canterbury his grace / and Master Woodcock Warden a booke intituled Christes teares over Jerusalem. . . vj d./.

(*S. R.*, ed. Arber, II. 635.)

Editions: (1) *Early:*

1593. *CHRISTS* | TEARES OVER | *Ierusalem.* | Wher-unto is annexed, | a comparatiue admonition | to *London.* | A IOVE MVSA. | By *Tho. Nashe.* | [ornament] | AT LONDON, | Printed by Iames Roberts, | and are to be solde by *Andrewe* | *Wise*, at his shop in Paules Church-|yard, at the signe of the Angel. | *Anno.* 1593. [In ornamental border.]

No colophon. Quarto. Leaves numbered from A 1 to end (1–92).

Collation: $*^4$, A–Z^4 (*1) Title, *v.* blank. *2 'TO THE MOST HONORED, AND VERTVOVS BEAVTIFIED LADIE...' *Ital. and Rom.* R-T. THE EPISTLE | DEDICATORIE. (*3)v '*To the Reader.*' *Rom. and Ital.* R-T. *To the Reader.* (*4)v blank. A 1 '☛ Christs Teares ouer *Jerusalem.*' *Rom. and Ital.* R-T. *CHRISTS TEARES* | *OVER IERVSALEM.* (Z 4)v blank.

Signatures from A 1 are in Roman. Fourth leaves not signed.

Catch-words: *2. *Long* *2v. *downe,* (*3)v. forth, A 1. Farre C 1. brought E 1. all G 1. top. I 1. and L 1. the N 1. are P 1. beating,) R 1. argu-(ments) T 1. If X 1. vndone Z 1. None.

Copy used: That in the British Museum (698. e. 18).

1594. CHRISTS | TEARES OVER | IERVSALEM.| VVHEREVNTO IS AN-|nexed, a comparatiue admonition | to *London.* | A IOVE MVSA. | By *Tho. Naſhe.*| [device] | LONDON. | Printed for Andrew VViſe, and are to be ſold at | his ſhop in Pauls Church-yard, at the ſigne | of the Angell. 1594.

No colophon. Quarto. Leaves numbered from A 1 to end (1–92).

Collation : *⁴, **⁴, A-Z⁴. (*1) blank, *v.* blank. (*2) Title, *v.* blank. *3 'TO THE MOST HONORED . . .' *Ital. and Rom.* R-T. THE EPISTLE | DEDICATORIE. (*4)ᵛ 'TO THE READER.' *Rom. and Ital.* R-T. To the Reader. (2*4) (*signed* X 3) *Cancel leaf for* X 3. A 1 '❧ Christs Teares ouer *Ierusalem.*' *From* A 1 *onwards this edition is identical with that of 1593.* (From the copy in the Bodleian Library (1. b. 190).)

The signatures of sheets * and 2* run : (*1), (*2), *3, (*4), **, * ij, *3, X 3. There is a trace of a second asterisk on *ij.

Catch-words : *3ᵛ. *you* (*4)ᵛ. (cour-)ses 2*1ᵛ. (con-)sidering 2*2ᵛ. (com-)pounds X 3ᵛ (2* 4ᵛ). into *Rest as in 93.* (There are no catchwords on the recto pages of sheets * and 2*.)

Copy used: That in the Bodleian Library (1.b.190) for the preliminary matter, and that in the British Museum (96. b. 17. (1.)) for the text.

1613. CHRISTS | TEARES OVER | IERVSALEM. | Whereunto is annexed a | comparatiue admonition | to *LONDON.* | A IOVE MVSA. |—| By *Tho. Naſh.* |—| [device: crowned fleur de lis in rule border 31 x 19 mm.] | LONDON, | Printed for *Thomas Thorp.* | 1613. [In architectural border.]

No colophon. Quarto. Paged from A 1ᵛ to Aa 3ᵛ (2–190).

Collation : ℂ⁴, A-Z⁴, Aa⁴. (ℂ 1) Title, *v.* blank. ℂ 2 'TO THE MOST HONORED . . .' *Rom. and Ital.* R-T. *THE EPISTLE* | *DEDICATORY.* (ℂ 4)ᵛ 'To the Reader.' *Ital. and Rom.* A 'CHRISTS *TEARES OVER* IERVSALEM.' *Rom. and Ital.* R-T. *CHRISTS TEARES.* | *OVER IERVSALEM.* Aa4 wanting, probably blank.

Signatures are in Roman. Aa 2 is signed A 2. Pages 60, 61, 64, and 66 are misnumbered 62, 63, 66, and 69, page 97 is misnumbered 197, and page 104, 140. Throughout sheets F–K the R-T. is smaller than elsewhere, and the stop after '*TEARES,*' generally present in other sheets, is omitted. The prayer 'O Lord our Refuge . . .' on Aa 2ᵛ begins a fresh page and is printed in larger type than the rest.

Catch-words: ¶ 2. Wit ¶ 3. wor-(thies) A 1. Farre C 1. They E 1. her G 1. my I 1. Giue L 1. of N 1. your P 1. (min-)ded, R 1, whom T 1. way, X 1. to Z 1. Him Aa 1. (mut-)ter

Copy used: That in the British Museum (874. k. 43). The top margins of this copy being wormed, the errors of numbering noted above are from the copy in the Bodleian (Malone, 566); this copy has also been referred to for a few side-notes partly cut off in the British Museum copy.

(2) *Modern Editions:*

1815. Archaica. Containing a Reprint of Scarce Old English Prose Tracts. With Prefaces, . . . By Sir E. Brydges, . . . London: . . . 1815. Vol. i, (Part the Seventh) pp. xi. and 168.

In modern spelling, from the edition of 1613.

1883–4 (Gro.). The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe . . . edited by A. B. Grosart. Vol. iv.

From the copy of the edition of 1593 in the Huth Library, supplemented for certain defective portions by the copy of 1594 in the same library. From this latter he also printed the new Epistle to the Reader.

1904. (The present edition.)

From the copy of –93 in the British Museum, compared throughout with the copy of -94 in the same library. It has been thought less confusing to treat these, for the purpose of collation, as separate editions even in the case of the text itself, which, with the exception of the cancel leaf, was printed from the same setting-up of type in the two.

The preliminary matter of –94 is from the copy in the Bodleian Library, that in the British Museum being here defective.

In accordance with the principle followed throughout this edition of printing the contents of the copy chosen as the basis of the text as they stand in the original, without addition or omission, the preliminary matter of –94 is placed, with the title-page of that edition, at the conclusion of the work.

On account of the comparative unimportance of the edition of 1613, the collations given from this edition are not so full as usual, only actual differences in wording being noticed, not such minor variations as 'comest' for 'comst,' 'hither' for 'hether,' &c.; nor are obvious errors generally recorded when they make no possible sense.

The letter *Q* in the collation notes indicates as usual the agreement of all the early editions collated (here those of 1593, 1594, and 1613).

Note on the Editions:

The edition of 1594 differs from that of 1593 in the preliminary matter alone, the sheets of the text itself (A–Z) being identical (*i. e.* from the same setting-up of type) in the two.

The preliminary matter of –94 differs in the following respects from that of –93:

(1) The original Epistle to the Reader with its apology to Gabriel Harvey was cancelled and a new one containing a violent attack upon him substituted. This was in consequence of Harvey's rejection, in *A New Letter of Notable Contents* (dated Sept. 16, 1592: entered *S. R.* Oct. 1), of the reconciliation offered to him.

(2) The list of errata which followed the Epistle is omitted.

(3) The last leaf of the preliminary matter is a cancel leaf[1] for X 3, in which a passage considerably milder in tone is substituted for an attack upon London, which seems, as was only natural, to have given offence to the civic authorities[2].

(4) The imprint on the title-page is changed, but the wording of the title itself remains the same.

The dedication to Lady Elizabeth Carey is unaltered in wording, though, as the whole of the preliminary matter was reset, there are a number of differences in spelling.

The text itself consists, as has already been stated, of the sheets of the edition of –93. There are however, as usual,

[1] This cancel is usually found bound up in its proper place, instead of the original X 3, but in a copy at the Bodleian Library (1. b. 190) it is as issued, the copy having thus two leaves signed X 3. As this copy may at some time be rebound, and as it may then be impossible to tell where this leaf belonged, I take the opportunity of saying that there is no doubt whatever that it actually forms part of sheet 2*, and is not merely a separate leaf placed there.

Apart from the variation in reading, the cancel differs from the original leaf in the running-title being in smaller type, in the omission of some of the marginal references and of the leaf-number, and in having no catch-word on the recto. The whole leaf was set up again, and hence the spelling differs even in those paragraphs which in wording remained the same.

[2] Compare the passage in Nashe's letter to William Cotton (c. 1596), where it is stated that 'the players, as if they had writt another Christs tears, are piteously persecuted by the L. Maior and the aldermen.'

occasional variations in different copies, due no doubt to accident or correction during the printing off. One such occurs at the foot of O 3. This is, so far as I am aware, only to be found in the British Museum copy of -94 (698. e. 18), and does not occur in the copy of the same edition at the Bodleian, showing, if proof were needed, that it does not specially belong to the second edition. Other variants of less importance occur on the remaining pages of the outer forme of this sheet, namely, O1, O2^{v} and O4^{v}: to these the same remark applies. In some cases they seem preferable to the readings of other copies and have therefore been adopted in the text.

The edition of 1613 was printed from that of 1593[1], but about half of the Epistle to the Reader, including all that refers to Gabriel Harvey, was omitted. It has the original passages on X 3 (here Y 1^{v}), not those substituted in -94.

In general it follows the first edition closely, even in punctuation and the use of capitals and italics, but, with one exception, corrects the errors noted in the corrigenda of -93[2].

There are, as will be seen from the collation notes, a certain number of small variations, but these are for the most part either errors, or corrections of obvious misprints, and except in the Epistle to the Reader and possibly in a very few cases such as those noted at p. 18, l. 26, p. 163, l. 12, p. 172, l. 22, and p. 173, l. 6, I see no evidence whatever of any attempt at revision.

In some cases also the use of italics is more regular in -13; a few examples will be found in the collations, though I have not attempted to give all. See p. 57, l. 28, and p. 108, l. 15. Changes of this sort might easily be due to a careful printer.

[1] In general it follows -93 line for line, though not page for page, having only 32 lines to the page as against the 33 of the earlier edition. It may be noted that the copy printed from had not those variants which have been mentioned above as occurring in the British Museum copy of -94.

[2] The error 'skinnes' for 'sins' on P 1 (-93) remains uncorrected. See also p. 39, l. 25, and p. 44, l. 7.

CHRISTS TEARES OVER *Ierusalem.*

Wherunto is annexed, a comparatiue admonition to *London.*

A IOVE MVSA.

By *Tho. Nashe.*

AT LONDON,
Printed by Iames Roberts, and are to be solde by *Andrewe Wise*, at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Angel.
Anno. 1593.

TO THE MOST HONO-
RED, AND VERTVOVS BEAV-
TIFIED LADIE, THE LADIE
ELIZABETH CAREY:

5 Wife to the thrice magnanimous, and noble dis-
cended Knight, Sir *George Carey*, Knight
Marshall, &c.

EXcellent accomplisht Court-*glorifying Lady, giue mee leaue, with the sportiue Sea Porposes, prelu-*
10 *diatelie a little to play before the storme of my Teares: to make my prayer ere I proceede to my sacrifice. Loe, for an oblation to the ritch burnisht shrine of your vertue, a handfull of* Ierusalems *mummianizd earth, (in a few sheetes of wast paper enwrapped,) I heere (humiliate)*
15 *offer vp at your feete. More embellished should my present bee, were my abilitie more aboundant. Your illustrate ladiship ere this (I am perswaded) hath beheld a badde florish with a Text-penne: all my performance heerein is no better. I doubt you will condemne it for worse. Wit hath his dregs*
20 *as wel as wine, Diuinitie his drosse. Expect some Tares in this Treatise of Teares. Farre vnable are my dimme Ospray eyes to looke cleerely against the sunne of Gods truth. An easie matter is it for anie man to cutte me (like a Diamond) with mine owne dust.*

25 *A young imperfect practitioner am I in Christs schoole. Christ accepteth the will for the deede. Weake are my deedes, great is my will. O that our deedes onely should be seene, and our wil die inuisible! | Long hath my intended* * *will (renowned Madam) beene addressed to adore you. But*

5–7 Wife . . . Marshall, &c.] *om. 13.* Marshall. &c. *93, 94.* 10 to play a litle *13.* 12 *bnrnisht 93.* 21 *this*] the *13.*

words, to that my resolued will, were negligent seruaunts. My woe-infirmed witte conspired against me with my fortune. My impotent care-crazed stile cast of his light wings and betooke him to wodden stilts. All agility it forgot, and graueld it selfe in grosse-braind formallitie. Nowe 5 *a little is it reuiued, but not so reuiued that it hath vtterly shooke of his danke-upper mourning garment. Were it effectually recured, in my soule-infused lines I would shew that I perfectly liued, and in them your praises should liue: whereas nowe, onely amongst the deade I liue in them, and* 10 *they dead all those that looke vpon them. That which my Teare-stubbed penne in this Theological subiect hath attempted, is no more but the course-spun webbe of discontent: a quintessence of holy complaint, extracted out of my true cause of condolement.* 15

Peruse it, iudiciall Madam, and some-thing in it shall you finde that may peirce. The world hath renowned you for Religion, pietie, bountihood, modestie, and sobrietie, (rare induments in these retchlesse daies of securitie.) Diuers wel-deseruing Poets haue consecrated their endeuours to 20 *your praise. Fames eldest fauorite, Maister* Spencer, *in all his writings hie prizeth you. To the eternizing of the heroycall familie of the* Careys, *my choisest studies haue I tasked. Then you that high allied house hath not a more deere adopted ornament. To the supportiue perpetuating of* 25 *your canonized reputation, wholie this booke haue I destined. Vouchsafe it benigne hospitalitie in your Closet, with slight enteruiew at idle houres; and more polished labours of mine ere long shall salute you. Some complete historie I will shortly goe through with, wherein your perfections shall be* 30 *the chiefe argument. To none of all those maiesticall wit-fore-stalling worthies of your sexe my selfe doe I apply, but you alone. The cunning courtship of faire words can neuer ouer-worke mee to cast away honor on anie. I hate those female braggarts that contend to haue all the Muses beg at* 35

10 *amongest 94* 11 *dead, al 94* 17 *renowned*] crowned *13* 31 *wit forestalling Q.*

their doores, and, with Doues, delight euermore to looke themselues in the glasse of vaine-glorie; yet by their sides weare continually Barbarie purses, which neuer ope to any but pedanticall Parasites.

5 *Diuine Ladie, you I must and will memorize more especially, for you recompence learning extraordinarilie. Pardon my presumption, lend patience to my prolixitie, and if any thing in all please, thinke it was compiled to please you. This I auouche, no line of it was layde | downe without* *3
10 *awfull looking backe to your frowne. To write in Diuinitie I would not haue aduentured, if ought els might haue consorted with the regenerate grauitie of your iudgement. Your thoughts are all holy, holy is your life; in your hart liues no delight but of Heauen. Farre be it I should proffer*
15 *to vnhallow them with any prophane papers of mine. The care I haue to worke your holy content, I hope God hath ordained, to call me home sooner vnto him.*

Varro *saith, the Philosophers held two hundred and eyght opinions of felicitie: two hundred and eyght felicities to*
20 *me shall it bee, if I haue framed any one line to your lyking. Most resplendent Ladie, encourage mee, fauour mee, countenaunce mee in this, and some-thing ere long I will aspire to, beyond the common mediocritie.*

Your admired Ladiships

25 most deuoted.

Tho. Nashe.

1 *doers 94.*

To the Reader.

NIL *nisi flere libet,* Gentles, heere is no ioyfull subiect towardes: if you will weepe, so it is. I haue nothing to spend on you but passion. A hundred vnfortunate farewels to fantasticall Satirisme. In those vaines heere- 5 to-fore haue I mispent my spirite, and prodigally conspir'd against good houres. Nothing is there nowe so much in my vowes, as to be at peace with all men, and make submissiue amends where I haue most displeased. Not basely feare-blasted or constraintiuely ouer-ruled, but 10 purely pacifycatorie suppliant, for reconciliation and pardon doe I sue to the principallest of them, gainst whom I profest vtter enmity. Euen of Maister Doctor *Haruey*, I hartily desire the like, whose fame and reputation (though through some precedent iniurious prouocations, and feruent 15 incitements of young heads) I rashly assailed: yet now better aduised, and of his perfections more cõfirmedly perswaded, vnfainedly I entreate of the whole worlde, from my penne his worths may receiue no impeachment. All acknowledgements of aboundant Schollership, courteous 20 well gouerned behauiour, and ripe experienst iudgement, doe I attribute vnto him. Onely with his milde gentle moderation, heervnto hath he wonne me.

Take my inuectiue against him in that abiect nature that you would doe the rayling of a Sophister in the 25 schooles, or a scolding Lawyer at the barre, which none but fooles wil wrest to defame. As the Tytle of this Booke is *Christs Teares*, so be this Epistle the Teares of *4 my penne. Many things haue I vainly sette | forth whereof now it repenteth me. S. *Augustine* writ a whole booke 30

1 *This epistle is omitted in 94, being replaced by the one here printed at pp.* 179–86. 9–27 Not basely . . . defame.] *om.* 13. 29 forth, *c.w.*

of his Retractations. Nothing so much do I retract as that wherin soeuer I haue scandaliz'd the meanest. Into some spleanatiue vaines of wantonnesse heeretofore haue I foolishlie relapsed, to supply my priuate wants: of 5 them no lesse doe I desire to be absolued then the rest, and to God & man doe I promise an vnfained conuersion.

Two or three triuiall Volumes of mine at this instant are vnder the Printers hands, ready to be published, which being long bungled vp before this, I must craue to be 10 included in the Catalogue of mine excuse. To a little more witte haue my encreasing yeeres reclaimed mee then I had before. Those that haue beene peruerted by any of my workes, let them reade this, and it shall thrice more benefite them. The Autumne I imitate, in sheading my 15 leaues with the Trees, and so doth the Peacocke shead hys tayle. Buy who list, contemne who list, I leaue euery Reader his free libertie. If the best sort of men I content, I am satis-fiedly succes-full. Farewell all those that wish me wel; others wish I more wit to.

20 Tho. Nashe.

FRiendly Readers, some faultes there bee my penne hath escapt in hastie wryting, which I am more earnestly to craue pardon of at thy handes, as in folio 15. Page 1. Where I talke of *Peters* forswearing, when as in the course 25 of the New Testament, it was long after Christs weeping ouer Ierusalem. Folio 17. page 2. When I say, the wals of Iericho at the 3. sounde fell downe, it should be the 7. sound. The Printers faultes are these.

Folio 11. Page 1. line 15. for Gardner, read Gardian. 30 Folio 16. page 2. For *Vbique cuiusque animus, est ibi animat:* reade, *Vbi cuiusque animus est, ibi animat:* Folio 20. page 2. line 17. for slaughter-sack, read slaughter-stack.

7–10 Two . . . excuse.] *om. 13.* 21–p. 14, l. 7 Friendly Readers . . . *negligitur.*] *om. 94, 13. In 13 all the corrections here indicated are made, with the exception of 'sinnes' at p.* 113, *l.* 7.

Fol. 37. page 2. line 12. for explement, reade expletement. Fol. 51. page 2. line 13. for *Esau*, reade *Caine*. Fol. 57. page 1. line 4. for skinnes, read sinnes. Fol. 62. page 2. line 2. for *Patris*, reade *Patres*. Fol. 70. page 2. line 13. for her, reade theyr. Fol. 79. page 1. line 10. for primipalship, 5 reade principalship. Fol. 89. page 1. line 4. for *negligetur*, reade *negligitur*.

Christs Teares ouer *Ierusalem.*

A 1

SInce these be the dayes of dolor and heauinesse, wherein (as holy *Dauid* saith) *The Lord is knowne by* Psal. 9. 16
5 *executing iudgment*, and the axe of his anger is put to Math. 3.
the roote of the Tree, and his Fan is in his hande to purge his Floore; I suppose it shal not be amisse to write something of mourning, for *London* to harken counsaile of her great Grand-mother, *Ierusalem.*

10 Omnipotent Sauiour, it is thy Teares I intende to write of, those affectionate Teares, which in the 23. and 24. of *Mathew* thou wepst ouer *Ierusalem* and her Temple; Be present with me (I beseech thee) personating the passion of thy loue. O dew thy Spyrit plentifully into my incke, and
15 let some part of thy diuine dreariment liue againe in myne eyes. Teach mee how to weepe as thou wepst, & rent my hart in twaine with the extremity of ruth. I hate in thy name to speake coldly to a quick-witted generation. Rather let my braines melt all to incke, and the floods of affliction
20 driue out mine eyes before them, then I should be dull and leaden in describing the dollour of thy loue. | Farre be from A 1v
me any ambitious hope of the vaine merite of Arte; may that liuing vehemence I vse in lament onely proceed from a heauen-bred hatred of vncleannesse and corruption.
25 Mine owne wit I cleane disinherite: thy fiery Clouen-tongued inspiration be my Muse. Lende my wordes the forcible wings of the Lightnings, that they may peirce vnawares into the marrow and reynes of my Readers. Newe mynt my minde to the likenes of thy lowlines: file
30 away the superfluous affectation of my prophane puft vp

14 plentiful *13* 21 Farre . . .] *New par. 13.* 25 thy] the *13*

phrase, that I may be thy pure simple Orator. I am a
Ierem. 1. child (as thy holy *Ieremy* sayd), & know not how to speake,
Phillip. 4. yet, *Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat*, I can doe all
things through the helpe of him that strengtheneth me.
Wisd. 10. The tongues of Infants it is thou that makest eloquent, and 5
teachest the hart vnderstanding. Graunt me (that am a
Babe and an Infant in the misteries of Diuinitie) the gracious
fauour to suck at the breasts of thy sacred Reuelation, to
vtter some-thing that may mooue secure *England* to true
sorrow and contrition. All the pours of my Soule (as- 10
sembled in their perfectest arraie) shall stand wayting on
thy incomprehensible Wisedome for Arguments; as poore
young Birds stand attending on their Dams bill for suste-
naunce. Now helpe, now direct; for now I trans-forme my
selfe from my selfe, to be thy vnworthy Speaker to the 15
World.

IT is not vnknown, by how many & sundry waies GOD
spake by Visions, Dreames, Prophecies, and Wonders,
to his chosen *Ierusalem*, onely to moue his chosen *Ierusalem*
wholie to cleaue vnto him. Visions, Dreames, Prophecies, 20
and Wonders, were in vaine: This gorgious strumpet *Ieru-*
A 2 *salem*, too-to much | presuming of the promises of old,
went a whoring after her own inuentions; She thought the
Lord vnseparately tyde to his Temple, & that he could
neuer be diuorced from the Arke of his Couenant; that, 25
hauing bound himselfe with an oth to *Abraham*, he could
not (though he would) remoue the Lawe out of *Iuda*, or
his Iudgement-seate from Mount *Silo*. They erred most
temptingly & contemptuously; for God euen of stones (as
Christ told them afterward) was able to raise vp Children 30
to *Abraham*. But what course tooke the high Father of
Heauen & Earth, after he had vnfruitfully practised all these
meanes, of Visions, Dreames, Wonders, & Prophecies?
There is a Parable in the 21. of *Mathew*, of a certaine
Housholder that planted a Vineyard, hedged it round about, 35

1 pure] poore *Gro.* 22 too to-much *Q.*

made a Wine-presse therein, and built a Tower, and let it out to Hus-band-men, and went into a strange Country. When the time of fruite drew neere, he sent his seruants to the Hus-band-men to receiue the increase thereof. The
5 Hus-band-men made no more a-doe, but (his Seruants comming) beate one, killed another, and stoned the third. Againe hee sent other Seruaunts, more then the first, and they did the like vnto them. Last of all, he sent his owne Sonne, saying, *They will reuerence my Sonne;* but they
10 handled him far worse then the former.

The Housholder that planted the Vineyarde and hedg'd it round about, was Israels mercifull *Iehoua*, who in Israel planted his Church, or his Winepresse: made it a people of no people, and a Nation beyond expectation.
15 Long did he blesse them, and multiplie their seed on the face of the earth, as the sand of the Sea or the starres of Heauen: from all their enemies he deliuered them, & brought their name to be a by-worde of terror to the Kingdomes rounde about them: Their Riuers ouer-|flowed with A 2v
20 Milke & Honie, their Garners were filled to the brim: euery man had wel-springs of Oyle & Wine in his house, and finally, there was no complaint hearde in their streets.

The time of fruite drew neere, wherein much was to be required of them to whom much was giuen: he sent his
25 seruants the Prophets to demaund his rent, or tribute of thanks-giuing, at their handes. Some of them they beat, others they killed, others they stoned, and this was all the thanks-giuing they returned. And then he sent other Prophets or Seruants moe then the first, & they did the like
30 vnto them: yet could not all this cause him proceed rashly vnto reuenge. *The Lorde is a God of long patience and suffering;* nor wil hee draw out his sword vnaduisedly in his indignation. Stil did he loue them, because once hee had loued them, & the more their ingratitude was, the more his
35 grace abounded: hee neglected the death of his seruants in comparison of the saluation of them he accounted His

29 moe] more *13*.

Sons. He excused them himselfe vnto himselfe, and sayde: Peraduenture, they tooke not these my Seruants I sent, for my Seruaunts, but for seducers and deceiuers, and ther-vpon entreated them so vncurteously: I wil send mine only natural Sonne to them, whom they (being my adopted Sonnes) 5 can-not chuse but reuerence & lysten to. This his naturall Sonne was *Christ Iesus*, whom hee sent from Heauen to perswade with these Hus-band-men: Hee sent him not with a strong power of Angels, to punish their pride and ingratitude, as he might: He sent him not roially trained 10 & accompanied, like an Embassador of his greatnes, nor gaue he him any Commission to expostulate proudly of iniuries, but to deale humbly and meekelie with them, & not to constraine but intreate them. Hee sent his owne A 3 onely | Sonne alone, like a Sheep to the slaughter, or as a 15 Lambe should be made a Legate to the Wolues. When hee came on earth, what was his behauior? Did he first shew himselfe to the chiefe of these Hus-bandmen, the Scribes and Pharisies? Did he take vp any stately lodging according to his degree? Was hee sumptuous in his attire, 20 prodigal in his fare, or haughty in his lookes, as Embassadors wont to be? None of these: in steade of the Scribes and Pharisies, he first disclosed himselfe to poore Fishermen: for his stately Lodging, he tooke vp a Cribbe or a Manger, and after-warde the house of a Carpenter: His attire was 25 as base as might be, his fare ordinary, his lookes lowly. He kept company with Publicans and sinners, the very outcast of the people; yet in theyr company was he not idle, but made al he spake or did preparatiues to his Embassie.

If any Noble-man (though neuer so high discended) should 30 come alone to a King or Queene in Embassage, without pompe, without followers or the apparraile of his state, who woulde receiue him? who woulde credite him? who would not scorne him? It was necessary that Christ (comming thus alone from the High-commaunder of all Soueraignties, the 35 Controler of all Principalities and Powers) should haue

4 mine] my *13*. 14 but to entreat *13*. 26 base] mean *13*. 30 highly *13*.

some apparent testimonie of his excellencie. According to the vanity of man, hee thought it not meete to place his magnificence in earthlie boast, as in the pryde of shame, which is apparraile, or in the multitude of men 5 after hym, for so mette wicked *Esau* his Brother *Iacob*: but in working miracles aboue the imagination of man, and in preaching the Gospell with power and authoritie; Whereby, after hee had throughlie confirmed himselfe to be the owner of the Vineyards true Sonne, and that these 10 ill Hus-band-men, | the Iewes, should haue no credible or A 3v trueth-like exception left them, (that they tooke him for a counterfeit or colourable practiser,) he went into their chiefe Assemblies and there (to the High-priests & Heads of their Sinagogues) freely deliuered his message, declared 15 from whence he came, gentlie expostulated their ill dealing, desired them to haue care of themselues, told them the danger of their obstinacie, and wooed them (with many fayre promises) to repent and be conuerted. All this preuailed not; they sette him at nought, as they reiected his Fathers 20 other Seruants, the Prophets: Wherefore his last refuge was to deale plainly with them, and explane to the full what plagues and warres were entring in at their gates for their disloyaltie and doggednesse. In the II. of *Mathew*, he pronounceth greeuous woes to *Corazin* and 25 *Bethsaida*: in diuerse other places he intermixeth curses with blessings, tempers Oyle with Vineger, teares with threates; denounceth sighing, and in his sighes welneere swoundeth; euen as a Father constrained to giue sentence on hys owne Sonne. In the 13. of *Luke*, he 30 telleth how often he had beene an Intercessour for the repriue of theyr punishment. The Hus-band-man, which is my Father, (saith hee) hath come many yeeres together to a Figge-tree in hys Vineyarde, to demaund fruite of it, and found none. What hath hindered him from cutting 35 it downe but I, who haue tooke vpon me to be the Dresser of the Vineyard; and desired him to spare it this yeére, and that yeere, and I woulde prune it, dung it, and digge

round about it, and then if it brought not forth fruite, let him deale with it as he pleased? Almost this 30. yeere haue I prund it, dung'd it, digd rounde about it: that is, reproued, preached, exhorted with al the wooing words A 4 I could, endeuouring | to mollify, melt, & peirce your harts; 5 yet all wil not serue; my prayers and my paynes, in steade of bringing forth repentance in you, bring forth repentance in my selfe.

As I said before, no remedy, or signe of any breath of hope, was left in their Common-wealths sinne-surfetted body, 10 but the maladie of their incredulity ouer-maistred heauenly phisick. To desperate diseases must desperate Medicines be applyde. When neither the White-flag or the Red which *Tamburlaine* aduaunced at the siedge of any Citty, would be accepted of, the Blacke-flag was sette vp, which 15 signified there was no mercy to be looked for; and that the miserie marching towardes them was so great, that their enemy himselfe (which was to execute it) mournd for it. Christ, hauing offered the Iewes the White-flagge of forgiuenesse and remission, and the Red-flag of shedding his 20 Blood for them, when these two might not take effect nor work any yeelding remorse in them, the Black-flagge of confusion and desolation was to succeede for the obiect of their obduration.

This Black-flagge is waued or displaied in the 23. of 25 *Mathew*, where, directing his speech to his Disciples and the multitude, against the Scribes & Pharisies that were the Princes of the people, hee first vrgeth the infamous disagreement of their lyues and their doctrines: which that it should breede no scandalous back-slyding in the 30 harts of his Hearers, he inserteth this caution, *Do as they say, not as they doe*. And to like effect saith S. *Augustine*; *Sermo Dei proferat eum peccator, proferat eum iustus, sermo Dei est, inculpabilis est:* The Word of God, be it preacht by Hipocrite or Saint, is the Worde of God, and not to be 35 dispised or disanuld. Next this, hee pronounceth eyght A 4v terrible woes against them, for their eyght-folde | hypo-

August. tom. 10. homil. 5.

crisie & blindnesse ; besides other fearefull comminations, wherein hee threatens that all the righteous blood which was shedde from the time of *Abel* the righteous, vnto the blood of *Zaccharias* the Sonne of *Barrachias*, that was
5 slaine betwixt the Temple and the Altar, shold come vpon them, should call and exclaime on theyr soules for vengeaunce, staine the Skye with cloddred exhalations, interrupt the Sunne in his course, and make it sticke fast in the congealed mudde of gorie Clowdes, yea, dimme &
10 ouer-cast GOD sitting in his Throne, till he had tooke some astonishing satis-faction for it.

Then on the suddaine starting backe, as ouer-examining the words he had sayd, and condemning himselfe (in his thought) for being so bitter, he presentlie weepeth, and
15 excuseth it in these termes, that it was not his fault, but theirs : *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, which killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent vnto thee:* That is, which art guilty of all the accusations my Father til this time wold not in pitty lay against thee ; yea, feared to be cruell in
20 once suspecting thee of, though nowe they are proued: *How often would I haue gathered thy Chyldren together, as the Henne gathereth her Chickins together vnder her wings, and ye would not!* How often would I haue reuokt, reduced, & brought you into the right way, *But you would*
25 *not? Therefore your habitation shall be left desolate.* So that in these words most euidently you see, he cleereth himselfe, and leaueth them vnexcusable.

The more to penetrate and inforce, let vs suppose Christ in a continued Oration thus pleading with them. |

30 I*Erusalem*, the Daughter of my people, I am sore vexed B 1 and compassionate for thee, *Ierusalem*, the midst of the earth, the mother of vs all, in the midst of whom I haue wrought my saluation ; *Ierusalem*, that for all the good seede I haue sowne in thee, affordest nothing but
35 stones to throw at my Prophets, thou that slayest whõm

20 thee of] of thee *13*.

I send to saue thee, & imprisonest any man that wisheth thy peace; thy sinnes are so great, that when I looke on thee, myne eyes can scarce perswade me that thou standest, but that thou art sunck downe like *Sodom*, and entombed in Ashes like *Gomorra*. O let me pitty thee, for I loue 5 thee impatiently. A thousand shapes of thy confusion muster before mine eyes, & the paines on the Crosse I am to sustaine cannot be so great paines vnto mee, as to think on the ruine and massacre that is already trauailing towards thee. Famine, the Sworde, and the Pestilence, haue all 10 three sworne and conspired against thee: Thou (one poore citty) by these three vnrelenting enemies shalt be ouercome. *Eheu, quantus equis, quantus viris adest sudor.* Alas, what huge sweat and toyle is at hande for Horse and Man! 15

Heere do I weepe in vaine, for no man regardeth me, no man wayleth with me. Heere doe I prophecie that my weeping in vayne shall bee the cause of a hundred thousand Fathers & Mothers weeping in vaine. O that I did weepe in vaine, that your defilements & pollutions 20 gaue me no true cause of deplorement! Often wisht I that I might haue saide to myne Eyes and Eares they lyde, when they haue told me what they haue seene and hearde of thy treasons. I wisht that I might be as wretched as the damned, so my sences therin were de- 25 ceiued. I am not deceiued; tis thou that deceiuest thy Sauiour, and deceiuest thy selfe to cleaue vnto sathan. |

B 1v Sathan, refrayne thine odious embraces, the bosome of *Ierusalem* is mine: touch not the body contracted to me; *Improbe tolle manus, quam tangis nostra futura est:* she 30 will touch him, he stretcheth not out his hande to her, but she breaketh violently from mee, to runne rauishtlie into his rugged armes. Alas, the one halfe of my soule, why wilt thou back-slyde thus? I loue and can haue no loue againe: I loue thee for thy good; thou lou'st hym that flatters thee 35 for thy hurt. What lesse thing then to belieue and to be

28 Sathan *c.w.* 36 and be *13*.

saued? How canst thou belieue & wilt not heare? Thy prayers are friuolous vnto God, if thou deniest to heare God: He must first heare God, that will be hearde of GOD. I haue hearde quietly all thy vpbraydings, reproofes, and 5 derisions: as when thou saydst I was a drunkard, and possessed with a diuel, that I cast out diuels by the power of *Beelzebub*, the Prince of the diuels; that I blasphemed, was mad, & knew not what I spake: Nor was I any more offended with these contumelies, then when thou calledst me 10 the son of a Carpenter. If I gyue eare to all your bitternesse, will not you vouchsafe me a little audience when I blesse you?

O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, that stonest, and astoniest thy Prophets with thy peruersnesse, that lendest stonie eares to 15 thy Teachers, and with thyne yron breast drawest vnto thee nothing but the Adamant of GODS anger: what shall I doe to mollifie thee? The rayne mollifieth harde stones; ô that the stormie tempest of my Teares might soften thy stony hart! Were it not harder then stone, sure ere this I had 20 broken and brused it, with the often beating of my exhortations vpon it.

Moyses strooke the Rocke and water gusht out of it; I (that am greater then *Moyses*) haue strooken you with threates, and you haue not mourned. O ye heauens, be | 25 amazed at this, be afraide and vtterly confounded: my B 2 people haue drunke out of a Rocke in the Wildernesse, & euer-since had rockie harts. Yet wil the Rocks tremble when my Thunder fals vpon them. The Mason with his Axe hewes and carues them at his pleasure. All the thunder of 30 iudgements which I spend on this stony *Ierusalem*, cannot make her to tremble, or refraine *from stoning my Prophets.* Should I raine stones vpon her, with them shee woulde arme her-selfe against my holy ones. Little doth she consider that all my Prophets are Embassadours, and the 35 wronging of an Embassadour amongst mortall men is the breaking of the law of Nations; which breach or wrong, no King or Monarch but (at his corronation) is sworne to

reuenge. If earthlie Kings reuenge any little wrong done to theyr Embassadours, how much more shall the King of all Kings reuenge the death and slaughterdome of his Embassadors? The Angels in heauen, as they are the Lordes Embassadours, (in regard of theyr own safety) would prose- 5 cute it, though he should ouer-slip it. The diuell that vseth daily to sollicite the Murtherers owne conscience for vengeaunce against himselfe, will hee spare to put the Lord in minde of his auncient decree, *A murtherer shall not lyue?* God said vnto *Caine*, *The voyce of thy Brother Abels blood* 10 *cryeth to me out of the earth:* that is, not onely *Abels* owne blood, but the bloode of all the sonnes that were to issue from his loynes, cry vnto me out of the earth. It is sayd in the 6. of *Genesis*, *Whosoeuer shall shedde humaine blood, his blood shall be shed likewise. Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth,* 15 much more life for life, shal be repayd; and this equity or amends, the veriest Begger or contemptiblest creature on the earth (cutte off before his time) shall be sure to haue. B 2ᵛ If I doe them right that in theyr owne | enmities lauish theyr lyues, shall I let their blood be troden to durte vnder foote, 20 and be blowne backe by the windes into the crannies of the earth (when it offers to sprinkle vp to heauen), who in my seruice spende theyr lyues? At my head *Ierusalem* threw stones when she stoned my Heralds. Who stabbeth or defaceth the picture of a King, but would doe the like to the 25 King himselfe, if he might doe it as conueniently? Euerie Prophet or messenger from the Lord representeth the person of the Lord, as a Herald representeth his Kings person and is the right picture of his royaltie.

O *Ierusalem*, *Ierusalem*, what thou hast doone to the least 30 of my Prophets, thou hast done vnto mee likewise: *My Prophets thou hast stoned*; me likewise thou hast *stoned*, and with-stood. The very *stones* in the streete shall ryse vp in iudgement against thee.

By the old Law, he that had blasphemed, reuiled his 35 Parents, or committed adulterie, was *stoned* to death by the Prophets and Elders: Thou hast blasphemed, reuiled thy

(spirituall) Parents, committed adultery with thine owne abhominations; and loe, contrariwise, thine Elders and Prophets thou *stonest* to death. Can I see this and not rise vp in wrath against thee? For this shalt thou grinde the 5 *stones* in the Myll with *Sampson*, and whet thy teeth vpon the *stones* for hunger; and if thou askest anie man Bread he shall gyue thee *stones* to eate. The dogges shall licke thy blood on the *stones* lyke *Iezabels*, & not a *stone* be found to couer thee when thou art deade. One *stone* of thy Temple 10 shall not be left vppon another that shall not be throwne downe. The *stone* which thy foolish Builders refused shall be made the head *stone* of the corner. Your harts (which are Temples of *stone*) I will for-sweare for euer to dwell in. There shall be no *Dauid* | any more amongst you, that with B 3 15 a *stone* sent out of a sling, shall strike the chiefe Champion of the *Philistines* in the for-head: And finally, you shall worship stockes and *stones*, for I will be no longer your God. O *Ierusalem*, *Ierusalem*, all this shall be-tide thee, because *thou stonest the Prophets, and killest them that are sent vnto thee.*

20 *The Fathers haue eaten sower-Grapes, and the Chyldrens teeth are sette on edge;* your Fathers tooke hard courses against the Prophets, *killed those I sent vnto them:* And if you had no other crime, but that you are the sonnes of them that killed the Prophets, it were too to sufficient for 25 your subuersion; but you your selues *haue stoned the Prophets, and killed those I sent vnto you:* not onely you your selues but your sonnes (for this) shall be put to the edge of the Sword.

The blood-thirstie & deceitfull man shall not lyue out 30 *halfe his dayes. Who strikes with the sword shall perrish with the sword. He that but hateth his brother is a homicide.* What is he then that slayeth his Brother? Nay more, what is he that slayeth Gods Brother? Not one that beleeueth in me, and doth my wil, but is my Brother and 35 Sister. In slaying them that are sent to declare the will of God, you resist the will of God, and are guilty of all their damnations which are yet vnconuerted, whom, lyuing, theyr

preaching might haue reduced. The violating of any of the Commaundements is death: *Thou shalt not kill*, is one of the principall Commaundements: your faulte at the first sight deserueth Hell-fire. What doe you but proclaime open warre against Heauen, when you destroy or ouer- 5 throwe any of the Temples of the holy Ghost (which are mens bodies)? They are the Tabernacles which the Lord hath chosen (by his Spirit) to dwell in. But the bodies of B 3v my Saints and Prophets (which you | slay and stone) are no triuiall ordinary Tabernacles, such as *Peter*, my Disciple, 10 would haue had me to make in the Wildernesse, for *Moyses*, *Elias*, and my selfe, but Tabernacles like the Tabernacle at *Ierusalem*, where I haue ordained my Name to be worshipped. Theyr words, as my words, I will haue worshipped; Theyr heades are the Mounts from whence I 15 speake to you in a holy flame, as to your Fore-fathers wandring in the Desert.

I haue told you heere-to-fore they are *the Salte of the Earth*, with whose Prayers and Supplications, if thys masse of sinne were not seasoned, it would sauour so detestably 20 in Gods nostrils, hee were neuer able to endure it. They are *the eyes and the light of the world*: if the eye lose his light, all the whole body is blind; And hence it came that they were surnamed *Seers*, for they onely foresaw, prayed, & prouided for the people. I tell you plainly, if it were 25 possible for you to plucke the Sunne out of Heauen, and you should do it, and so consequently leaue all the world in darknes, you shoulde not be lyable to so much blame as you now are, *in killing them I sende vnto you*. They are your Seers, your Prophets, your chiefe Eyes, which you 30 haue slayne, destroyed, and put out.

Was *Caine* a vagabond on the face of the earth for killing but one *Abel*? tenne thousand iust *Abels* haue you slaine, that were more neere, and ought to haue beene more deere to you then Brothers; and shall I not destitute your habi- 35 tation for it, and scatter you as vagabonds through-out the

15 Mount *Gro.* 33 one *Able 93, 94.*

Empires of the worlde? As you haue made no conscience to. *stone my Prophets, and slay them I sent vnto you*, so shall the strange Lordes that leade you captiue, and they amongst whom many hundred yeeres you shal soiurne,
5 make no conscience to cut your throats for your treasure, and giue a hundred of you together | to theyr Fencers B 4 and Executioners, to try theyr weapons on for a wager, and winne maisteries with deepe wounding you. O *Ierusalem, Ierusalem*, deepe woes & calamities hast thou incurd, *in*
10 *stoning my Prophets and slaying them I sent vnto thee. How often woulde I haue gathered thy children together* when they went astray? How often woulde I haue brought them home into the true sheepe-fold when I met them straying? I came into the World to no other ende but to *gather*
15 *together* the lost Sheepe of Israell. You are the flock and Sheepe of my pasture: when I would haue *gathered* you together, you would not heare my voyce, but hardned your harts. You *gather* your selues in counsaile against mee, euery time I seeke to call you or to *gather* you. Denie if
20 you can, that I sent not my Prophets (in all ages) to *gather* you: that with my Rodde and my staffe of correction I haue not sought (from time to time) to *gather* you: that by benefites and many-fold good turnes, I haue not tryde (all I might) to tye you or *gather* you vnto me: Lastlie,
25 that in mine owne person, I haue not practisd a thousand waies, to *gather* you to repentance and amendment of lyfe. If you should denie it, & I not contradict it, the diuell (my vttrest enemy) would confirme it.

Let me speake truely and not vauntingly (although it be
30 lawful to boast in goodnes), such hath alwaies been my care to *gather* you, that I thought it not enough to *gather* my selfe, but I haue prayed to my Father to ioyne more Labourers and *Gatherers* with me, to reape and *gather* in his Haruest. Howe often haue I *gathered* the multitude
35 together, and spoke vnto them? When the people were flocked or *gathered* vnto mee out of all Citties, and had

33 Labours *13*.

nothing to eate, I fed them myraculously with fiue Barlie-
B 4v loues & two Fishes. I would not haue shewd | the wonders
of my God-head, but to *gather* you together. The first
gathering that I made was of poore Seafaring-men, whom
I haue preferd to be myne Apostles. 5

Would you haue beene *gathered* together when I would
haue had you, you had *gatherd* to your selues the King-
dome of Heauen and all the riches thereof. Now what
haue you *gathered* to your selues but ten thousand testi-
monies in the Sonne of Gods testimony, that he desired 10
and besought you to suffer your selues to be *gathered* by
him, *and you would not?* Souldiours that fight scatteringlie,
and doe not *gather* themselues in ranke or battaile array,
shal neuer winne the day. If you knew how strong and
full of stratagems the diuel were, with howe many Legions 15
of lustfull desires he commeth embattailed against you,
what secrete ambushes of temptations he hath layde to
intrappe you; then woulde you *gather* your selues into
one bodie to resist him; then wold you *gather* your selues
together in prayer to with-stand him; then would you 20
gather for the poore, which is, to *gather* for Souldiers to
fight against him. *Eleemosyna a morte liberat, et non*
. 4. 10. *patitur hominem ire in tenebras;* Almes deedes deliuer a
man from death, and keepeth his soule from seeing con-
fusion. *As water quencheth fire* (saith the Wise-man), *so* 25
almes giuing resisteth sinne. And if it resisteth sinne, it
resisteth the diuel, which is the Father of sinne.

All my Fathers Angels stand *gathered* together about
his Throne: No Bread is made, but of graines of Corne
gathered together: no building is raysed, but of a number 30
of stones glued and *gathered* together. There is no perfect
societie or Citty, but of a number of men *gathered* together.
Geese (which are the simplest of al foules) *gather* them-
C 1 selues together, goe together, flie together. | Bees in one
Hiue holde their consistory *together.* The starres in 35

13 batbaile *93, 94.* 16–7 you: what *93, 94*: you: that *13.* 23 *hominem*] *Read animam.* 34 Bees . . .] *New par. 13*

Heauen doe shine *together*. What is a man, if the parts of his body be disparted, and not incorporated and essentiate *together*? What is the Sea, but an assembly or *gathering together* of waters, and so the Earth, a congestion or heaping
5 vp of grosse matter *together*? A Wood or Forrest, but an hoste of Trees encampt *together*? A generall counsaile or Parliament, but a congregation or *gathering together* of special wise-men, to consult about Religion or Lawes? *O what a good thing is it* (saith *Dauid*) *for Bretheren to liue*
10 *or be gathered together in vnity!*

If there were no other thing to ratifie the excellence of it, but the euill of his diameter opposite, which is diuision or distraction, it were infinitely ample to establish the tytle of his dignity. Nor *Dauid*, nor all the euills of diuision,
15 nor al the instances of Angels, Bread, buildings, societies, Geese, Bees, starres, Men, Seas, counsails, Parliaments, may conforme these vngratious degenerates. They will not onely not *gather* themselues into order (which I their Captaine might exact at their hands), but scorne to be
20 directed, mustered, and *gatherd* by me, when with the myldest discipline I offer to marshal them. Sorrie I am, *Ierusalem*, that my kindnes and conuersing with thee hath left thee without any cloke or clowde of defence.

It shall not be layde to thy charge, that thou wert
25 ignorant, and foolish, and knewst not howe to *gather* thy selfe into my family or houshold, the Church; but that when thou might'st haue beene *gathered* or called, thou refusedst, and contemned: Neither shall it be imputed that thou went'st a-stray; but that, going astray, thou reuiledst
30 and strook'st at him that would haue *gathered* or | brought C 1v thee into the right way. Ah, woe is mee, that euer I opened my mouth to call thee, or *gather* thee, for now (by opening my mouth, and thou stopping thyne eares when I opend it) I haue opend & enwidened Hell mouth, to
35 swallow thee and deuoure thee. I tooke flesh vpon me to the end that Hell (not *Ierusalem*) might perish vnder my hande. The vanquishment of that vglie nest of Harpies

hath beene reserued as a worke for mee, before all beginnings; Now know I not which I may first confound, Hell or *Ierusalem*, since both know me and haue armed theyr fore-heads against me.

Blessed is thy land, O *Ierusalem*, for I was borne in it. 5
Cursed is thy Lande, O *Ierusalem*, for I was borne in it. Borne I am to doe all Countries good but thee. Thee I came principally to doe good to, but thou resisteth the good I would doe thee; Thou interdicts and prohibits me with reproches and threates, from *gathering* thee & doing 10
thee good. Of my byrth thou reap'st no benefite but this, that I shall come at the last day to beare witnes against thee. Blinde and inconsiderate, what wilt thou doe to thine Enemie, that thus entreatest thy Friende, that thus reiectest thy Redeemer? O were thy sinne (though not to 15
be defended) yet any way excusable, it were some-what. Why did I euer behold thee to make thee miserable, and mine eyes thus miserable in beholding?

I might haue beheld the innocent Saints and Angels, that would neuer haue angerd me, but reioyc'd me: the 20
Cherubins and Seraphins would vncessantly haue praysed me; I shoulde not haue prayde them to execute my will (for they would haue done it with a beck), much lesse haue solicited them as I doe thee, to consent to saue thy selfe.
C 2 I should haue but sayd the word to the sence-|lesse Planets, 25
and it had beene done: to thy Chyldren (more sencelesse then the Planets) can I not say that word, which not onely they will refuse to doe, but deride. For this shall thine Enemies *gather* themselues about thy Citty, and smyte thee; the Angels shall *gather* thee to the Lake of fire and Brimstone: 30
thou shalt then *gather* thy browes together in howling and
Ierem. 9. lamentation; And (as *Ieremy* sayde) *The carkasses of thy dwellers shall lye as the dung in the Fielde, or the handfull after the Mower, and none shall there be to gather them vp.*

All this hadst thou preuented, if thou would'st haue per- 35
mitted me to *gather* thee. I sawe into thy frailtie and in-

35 *Run on in 13.*

firmitie, that thou wert not able to *gather* thy selfe; I tooke compassion on thee, because thou wert like sheep which had no Sheep-heard. I for-sooke all my immortall pleasures and mind-rauishing melody, to descende & make thee mine, 5 to come and *gather* thee to the glorie prepared for thee.

The greatest worke was this purpose of thy *gathering*, that euer was vnder-taken in Heauen or Earth. Thus did I argument with my selfe, to salue thy imperfections of the not *gathering* thy selfe. The Horse tameth not him-selfe: 10 the Cammel tameth not him-selfe: the Oxe tameth not him-selfe: the Beare, the Lyon, the Elephant, tame not themselues. Then why should I require that Man should tame, recall, bridle, bring vnder, or *gather* himselfe? But as the Horse, the Oxe, the Cammell, the Beare, the Lyon, 15 the Elephant, require Man to tame them; so it is requisite that GOD shoulde tame Man, that God alone should *gather* him vnto him. Content I was to take vpon me that vnthankfull office of taming or *gathering*, but thou wert not content to be so tamed or *gathered*. |

20 It did not irke me so much that thou wert vntamed, or C 2v *vngathered*, as that (knowing thy selfe in that case) thou wert vnwilling to be tamed and *gathered*. Thou could'st not despayre of myne ability to tame thee & *gather* thee; for if man tameth the beastes he neuer made, shall not I 25 *gather* thee, alter thee, & tame thee, that made thee? *Easie is my yoke and my burden is light:* I would not haue tamed thee, or tempted thee aboue thy strength; onely I would haue curbed or reaned thee a little to the right hand, kept thee from swallowing in sin with greedinesse. Suppose 30 (as the tamer of all Wild-beastes) I had some-time vsed my whyp or my goade, had it beene so much? Your Horses, which you tame and spurre, and cut their mouthes with raining, and finally kil with making carry heauy burdens many yeeres together, you wil not gyue so much reward to 35 (when they are deade) as buriall, but cast them to the Foules of the ayre, to be deformedly torne in peeces:

6 *Run on in 13.*

I (hauing tamed thee, and *gathered* thee home vnto me) enfeofe thee with indefinite blessednes, (being deade a space) restore to thee, not onely thy flesh (in more puritie), but the iust number of thy hayres, in-stall thee in eternity with mine Angels, where thou shalt neuer-more need to be *gathered*, or tamed, where there shall be no aduersity or tribulation that shall exercise or try thee, but eternall felicity to feed thee; and that without any care, fore-cast, or plotting on thy part (such as in the maintenaunce of earthly weale is wont). I shall bee to thee all in all, thy riches, thy strength, thine honour, thy Patron, thy prouider. Yet all thys hope cannot moue thee to consent to be tamed or *gathered* vnto me.

My voyce which cryeth, *Returne, Returne; Whether wanderest thou, long strayer?* is trouble-some and hatefull | vnto thee, thou canst by no meanes disgest it: it is thy Aduersarie in the way, which since I haue warned thee to agree with, and thou hast refused, it shall draw & hale thee vnto iudgement, the Iudge deliuer thee to Death, his Sariant, the Sariant to the diuel (conuicted soules Iaylor): thence shalt thou not escape till thou hast payd the vtmost farthing. O *Ierusalem, Ierusalem*, why sholdest thou *gather* and in-tangle thy selfe in so many vneuitable snares, when (by *gathering* thy selfe vnder my wing) thou mayst auoyde them? What haue I required of thee, but to *gather* thy selfe, & agree with my voice, thy Aduersary? Nothing but that thou wouldest haue a care of thy health and well-doing, a thing which thou (in reason), not I, ought to exact and require of thy selfe; yet I (as I were thy Gardian or Ouer-seer, & thy Father *Abraham* dying had bequeath'd thee wholy to my trust) follow thee, haunt thee by my Spyrite, daily and hourly importune thee to remember and *gather* thy selfe. How often haue I (to thys effect) chydinglie communed with thy soule and conscience?

Sinful *Ierusalem*, why deferst thou to *gather* thy selfe, &

9–10 maintenance, or earthly *13*. 27–8 well-doing. A *Q*. 29 Gardner *93, 94*. *Corr. in Errata.*

agree with my voyce in the way? Yet thou maist agree, yet thy way is not finished, yet thy Aduersary walkes by thee. Why doost thou proroge till thy wretched life be at his wayes end? Is there any other life, any other way
5 (when thys way of woe is ended) wherein thou maist agree with thine Aduersarie? The Iudge, the Sariant, the prison, thou must then awaite, and despayre of opportunitie euer after, to agree or be *gathered* to grace; but looke to be *gathered* like grasse on the house top, and throwne into the
10 fire. Promise not vnto thy selfe too many yeeres trauailing in the way: Thinke not thou shalt euer liue: thy waie may be cutte off ere thou be a-|ware: a thousande casualties may C 3v cutte thee off in the way. But how long or how short so ere thy way be, my voyce (thine Aduersarie) like thy shadow
15 still haunteth thee, still treadeth on thy heeles, still calls and cryes out vpon thee to *gather* vppe thy accounts and agree with it. Sham'st thou not (vild image of carelesnes) so long to be cald on for so light a matter? so long to liue at variance with so mightie an Aduersary? It is all one as
20 if thou shouldest owe an earthly Iudge money (who hath the Law in his hand), and braue him, and deny to come to composition, saying: If I owe it you, gather it or recouer it as you can. How thinkest thou, is there any earthly Iudge wold spare thee or for-beare thee as I haue done?
25 My voyce, as it is my voyce, is thy friende, but as thou abusest it (turnes thine eares from it, and wilt not agree with it), it is thine Aduersary; It wisheth thee well, and thou wishest thy selfe ill; It bids thee crouch and stoope to the Prophets I sende, and thou stonest them; It bids
30 thee pitty the Widdow and the fatherlesse, & thou oppressest them; It bids thee repent thee of the euill thou hast committed, and thou doublest it; It bids thee *gather* and gyrd vp thy loynes close, and take the staffe of Stedfastnes in thy hand, that if the flesh and the deuil assault thee in the way,
35 thou maist encounter them coragiously. In stead of girding and *gathering* vp thy loynes, thou vnloosest them to all

11 not that thou *13*.

licensiousnes; For the staffe of stedfastnes, thou armest thy
selfe with the broken Reed of inconstancie, And for incoun-
tering and contending with the flesh and the diuill, most
slauishly thou kissest and embracest them.

So thou thy selfe (I altogether lothe) makest my voice thy 5
enemy. No friende so firme but by oft ill vsage may be made
4 a foe. No meruaile thou makest mee thy foe, | that art a
foe to thy selfe. *Hee that loueth iniquity hateth his owne
soule:* hee that hateth his owne soule can neuer loue his
neighbour; insomuch as there is no man liuing that can 10
loue another better then himselfe. If then hys best loue to
himselfe be to hate himselfe, his loue to his neighbour must
be a degree lower; there is no remedie. The Law com-
maundeth, *Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe:* And he fulfilleth
the Lawe by hating his neighbour as himselfe. *I say vnto* 15
*you, Hee that hateth his neighbour is guilty of the breach of
all the commaundements:* whence it necessarilie ariseth
that hee which loues not his owne soule is guilty of the
breach of all the commandements.

Soule-hating, Apostata *Ierusalem*, that wouldest neuer 20
be *gathered* into any compasse of good life, I heere accuse
thee as a Homicide of thine owne life, as a transgressor of
all the commaundements, in hating thy selfe. The most
vnfortunatest is my fortune of any that euer lou'd, to loue
those that not onely hate mee, but hate them-selues. 25

O *Ierusalem*, not the Infidell-Romaines, which shall
inuade thee, and make thy Citty (now cleped a Citty of
peace) a shambles of dead bodies, teare down thy Temple,
and sette vp a brothel-house in thy Sanctuarie, not they
(I say) shall haue one droppe of thy blood layde to theyr 30
charge; not one stone of thy Temple or Sanctuarie
testificatory against them: Thy blood shal be vppon
thine owne head, whose transgressions violently thrust
swords into theyr hands. Thy Temple and thy Sanctuarie
shall both cry out against thy security for sacriledge. 35
The Arke wherein the Tables of couenaunt are layde
shall haue the Tables taken away, and in stead of them,

a blacke Register of thy misdemeanures laid in it: yea, my Father (if all witnesses should faile) would stand vp and | article against thee himselfe, how thou hast dryuen C 4v him (with thy detestable whoredomes) out of his con-
5 secrated dwelling place. O that thou knewest the time of thy visitation! O that thou wouldest haue beene *gathered* together! O that thou wouldest haue had care of thy selfe, had care of me! I must be slaughtered for thee, & yet worke no saluation for thee. One crosse alone (cruel
10 *Ierusalem*) is not able to sustaine the weight of thine iniquities: tenne times I must be crucified ere thou be clensed.

For sinne I came to suffer; thy sinne exceedeth my suffering; It is too monstrous a matter for my mercie
15 or merites to worke on. It woundeth me more with meditating on it, then all the Speares or Nayles can wounde me, that are to passe through me. I wold quite renounce and for-sweare mine owne safety, so I might but extort from thee one thought of thine own safety. Careful
20 am I for thee carelesse. Againe, this renueth my vnrest, that I, which am the Lord and Authour of lyfe, must bee the Authour and Euidencer against thee of death. If thou hadst neuer seene the light, thy walking in darknes wold haue brought thee no waylement. *Ignorantia, si non excusat*
25 *a toto, saltem excusat a tanto:* Ignoraunce excuseth the halfe, if not the whole. Thou hast not halfe an excuse (hence is my tears), not a quarter, not the hundreth part of a quarter, not a worde, not a sigh, not a sillable. Neuer did I looke on such a manifest vnmasked leprous face,
30 on a prysoner conuicted so mute. Sore am I impassioned for the storme thy tranquillity is in child with. Good *Ieremy*, nowe I desire with thee, that I had a Cottage of way-faring men in the Wildernes, where I might leaue my people and lyue, for they be all Adulterers and a band
35 of Rebels. |

A Tormentor (that abiureth commiseration when he D 1

7 had a care of *13*.

first enters into the infancie of his occupation) would collachrimate my case, and rather chuse to haue beene tortured himselfe then torment me with ingratitude as thou doost. More and more thou addest to my vnease, and acquainst mine eyes with the infirmities of anguish ; Hauing no sinne before, thou hast almost made me commit sin, in sorrowing for thy sinnes. Yet, though I haue sounded the vtmost depth of dolour, and wasted myne eye-bals well-neere to pinnes-heads with weeping (as a Barber wasteth his Ball in the water), a further depth of dolour would I sound, mine eyes more would I wast, so I might waste and wash away thy wickednesse. So long haue I wasted, so long haue I washed and embained thy filth in the cleare streames of my braine, that nowe I haue not a cleane Teare left more, to wash or embalme any sinner that comes to me.

The fount of my teares (troubled and mudded with the Toade-like stirring and long-breathed vexation of thy venimous enormities) is no longer a pure siluer Spring, but a mirie puddle for Swine to wallow in. Black and cindry (like Smithes-water) are those excrements that source downe my cheekes, and farre more sluttish then the vglie oous of the channell. Tis thou alone (vlcerous *Ierusalem*) that hast so fouled and soyled them. In seeking to *gather* fruite of thee, I gather nothing but stayning Berries, which embrued my hands and almost poysoned my hart. Neuer wold I mention this, or mone me, if thou hadst not embrued or brawned thine owne hands (not in Berries) but in blood, and more then (almost) poysoned thine owne hart.

What talke I of poyson, when it is become as familier to thee as meate & drinke ? Thou hast vsed it so long | for meate and drinke, that true nourishing meate and drinke thou now takest for poyson. *Consuetudo est altera natura :* Custome hath so engrafted it in thy nature, that now, not onely poyson not hurts thee, but fostereth

1)] *after* commiseration *Q.*   3 then] them *13.*   15 *Qy. read* embaine ?

and cherisheth thee. What-soeuer thou art is poyson, and none thou breathest on but thou poysonest. With *Athenagoras* of *Argos*, thou neuer feelest any payne when thou art stung with a Scorpion; Thou hast no sting or 5 remorse of conscience. Thy soule is cast in a dead-sleep, and may not be awaked though Heauen & Earth should tumble together.

For discharge of my dutie, and augmentation of thine euerlasting malediction, since Teares, threates, promises, 10 nor any thing will peirce thee, heere I make a solemne protestation, what my zeale and feruent inclination hath beene (euer since thy first propagation) to win & weane thee from sathan, and notwithstanding thou *stonedst my Prophets, and slewest them I sent vnto thee*, I still 15 assayed to reuoke thee, & bring thee back againe to thy first image; not once, or twise, or thrise, but I cannot tell how often, I woulde haue *gathered thee, euen as a Henne gathereth her Chickins vnder her wings, but thou wouldest not.* Blame me not though I giue thee ouer, that hast 20 gyuen mee ouer: long patience hath dulled my humour of pittie. No sword but wil loose his edge in long striking against stones.

My leane withered hands (consisting of nought but bones) are all to shiuerd and splinterd in their wide cases of 25 skinne, with often beating on the Anuile of my bared breast. So penetrating and eleuatedly haue I prayd for you, that mine eyes woulde fayne haue broke from theyr anchors to haue flowne vp to Heauen, and myne armes stretcht more then the length of my body to reach | at the Starres. D 2 30 My heart ranne full-butt against my breast to haue broken it open, and my soule flutterd and beate with her ayrie-winges on euery side for passage. My knees crackt and the ground fledde back. Then (ô *Ierusalem*) would I haue rent my body in the midst (lyke a graue) so I might 35 haue buried thy sinnes in my bowels. And had I been in Heauen as I was on Earth, the Sunne shoulde haue exhaled

3 *Argus Q.* 13–4 notwithstanding, thou . . . *thee:* I *Q.* 36 exhalted *13*

from thee all thy trespasses as meteors, which the clowdes, his Cofferers, receiuing, might foorth-with haue conduited downe into the Sea, and drowned for euer.

Fooles be they that imagine it is the Windes that so tosse and turmoyle them in the deepe: they are no winds but 5 insurrectiue sins which so possesse the waues with the spyrite of raging. I drowned all the sinnes of the first World in water: all the sinnes of the first World now welter, souse, & beate vnquietly in the Sea, whither the World of waters was with-drawne when the Deluge was 10 ended; And as a guilty conscience can no where take rest, so no more can they in the Sea, but, embolning the billowes vppe to the ayre, with roring and howling darte themselues on euery Rocke, desiring it to ouerwhelme them: and because they know they can neuer be recouerd, 15 with the same enuie which is in the diuels, they seeke to drowne and ramuerse euery ship that they meete. If happily there be a calme, it is when they are weary of excruciating themselues. I that was borne to suppresse & treade down sinne vnder foote, in the night time (when 20 that sinne-inhabited element is wont to be most lunaticke) walke on the crests of the surges as on the dry land.

Another cause why the Sea so swelleth & barketh of late more then ordinary, is, for when I sent the diuils | D 2v into the Herde of Swine, they carried them head-long into 25 the Sea, where they drowned and perrisht them; and then, loth to come to land to be controlled and dyspossessed againe by mee, they entred and inhabited the Sea-monsters, such as the Whale, the Grampoys, the Wasser-man, whom they haue suborned and inspyred to lye in wayte for Ships- 30 wrack. Sinne takes no rest but on earth, and on earth no rest in the night, but the day. The night is blacke like the diuell; then hee may boldlie walke abroade like the Owle, and his eyes nere be dazeled. *Solus cum solo* hee may conferre with his subiects, tempt, terrifie, insinuate what 35 he will. Hee knowes that God hath therefore hydde all other obiects from mans sight in the night, that then he

should haue no occasion to gaze elswhere, but full leysure to looke into himselfe. In which regard, least he shold looke into himselfe, and so repent, hee will not let him see with his owne eyes, but lendeth hym other eyes of despayre
5 or security to see withall. If of securitie, then eyther hee perswades hym there is no God, and that Religion is but subtile Lawgyuers policie (to keepe sillie fooles in awe with scare-crowes), or that if there be a God, he is a wise God, and, like a wise Counsailer, troubles not himselfe with
10 euery vaine twittle twattle, of thys man, or that man, but considers whereof we are made, and beares with vs thereafter.

Yea, (which is horrible) hee sootheth him vp, that if God would not haue had him sinne, hee woulde neuer haue giuen him the partes or the meanes to sinne with. If he be
15 a whore-maister, he remembreth him howe *Abraham* went in to his mayde *Hagar*: How *Lot* committed incest with his Daughters: How *Dauid* lay with *Berseba*, and slew *Vrias*: And how I (my selfe) woulde not | let the woman D 3 that had committed adultery bee stoned to death, but
20 bidde her goe home to her house in peace & sinne no more. If he be a drunkard, *Noah* was drunk, the fore-named *Lot* was drunke, and *Dauid* (mencioned before likewise) made *Vrias* drunke; Yet all these were men that God delighted in.

25 If he be a periurd person, why, *Peter* for-swore himselfe thrise; *Ioseph* swore by the life of *Pharao*; *Dauid* swore, *God doe so and so to mee, if I leaue to Naball yet ere night one to pisse against the walls.* Yet when *Naballs* wife *Abigall* (vnwitting to her husband) brought him a lyttle refreshing,
30 his humour was pacified, his oth was dispenst with. A great many more allegations hath hee to thys end, which heere to recite were to weapon presumption, and saue the diuell a labour in seducing. Murther, theft, (what not?) hath his texts to authorise him. Nothing doth profite but
35 peruerted may hurt: Scripture as it may be literally ex-

11 whereof] wherefore *13*. 25-6 If . . . thrise] *In italics, and marginal note added* This was long after Christs teares ouer Ierusalem. *13*.

pounded and sophisticallie scande, may play the Harbinger as well for Hell as Heauen, and sooner feedes Despayre then Fayth. Hath not the diuell hys Chappell close adioyning to Gods Church? Is hee not the ambitious Ape of GODS Maiestie? And as hee hath his Tabernacle (ô 5 *Ierusalem*) in thy Temple, so hath not hee his Oracle or *Tripos* in his Temple at *Delphos*, with as great (if not greater) sacrifices, oblations, & offerings, then are in Gods Temple? Will hee not take vpon him to worke myracles, cure diseases, & be an Angell of light, that is, preach the Gospell as I 10 doe? Speake I in thunder or visions, he speaketh in thunder and visions. Eclipse I the Sunne and Moone, hee will Eclipse Sunne, Moone, and starres. Send I one good-Angel out, he will send out two ill. In conclusion, in any thing hee wyll imitate me, but humility: and by humility 15 D 3v only, my | Chyldren are knowne from the diuels. Pryde is that by which the diuell holdes his kingdome: he had nere been a diuell, if he had not beene too proude to be an Angell. Enuy breedes pride, and pryde breedes enuy: There is none can vp-hold enuy, but he must vp-hold pryde, nor 20 can true pryde liue, if it hath nothing to enuy at; If it haue nothing so great as it selfe to ayme at, there is no man vnder it hath any pryde or prosperity but it enuies and aymes at.

The Sunne, though it can endure no more Sunnes but it 25 selfe, yet it can take in good part to haue more Planets besides it selfe, but pryde can endure no Superiours, no equals, no ascendants, no sprigs, no grafts, no likely beginnings. Any thing but vertue it can tollerate to thriue, and that it is too-to afrayd of. Marke a Tyrant when you will, 30 and hee first extirpates the adherents to vertue. Vertue is thrise more inuocating for honor then ambition. What was the diuels first practise in Paradice but to destroy vertue in *Adam*, and so by steps to destroy him, by destroying vertue in him? Whom slew *Caine* but his iust or 35 vertuous brother *Abel*? He was afrayd the comparison of his iustnes or vertue woulde make hym incomparably vgly

in Gods presence. Whom hated *Esau* and layd waite for, but his vpright brother *Iacob*, because by his vertue hee had ouer-reacht him in the blessing of hys byrth-right? Did not *Saul* persecute *Dauid*, onely because GOD lou'd him?
5 So through-out the whole course of the Scriptures, Vertue purchaseth Enuie, and her possessors neuer escape briery scratches.

But as before, so once more I wil assertionate, Vertue hath no enimie but pryde. I my selfe haue no enemy but
10 Pryde, which is the *Summum genus* of sinne, & may wel be a conuertible name with the diuell, for the diuell is | nought D 4 but pryde, and pryde is an absolute diuell. But for pryde, *Ierusalem* ere thys had *gathered it selfe vnder my wing:* Forsooth she disdained to be taught & instructed by such
15 a meane-titled man as I. But for pryde of despising the preaching of *Noah*, the first Worlde had not beene deluged. But for pride, there had beene no translation of Monarchies. If *Pharao* had not been so proud that he would not let your fore-fathers goe, (but kept them in despight of me,) I had
20 neuer plagu'd hym as I did.

The reson I deceiu'd you, *Hierosolemites* & Iewes, (in not comming in pryde vnto you, in not taking the maiestie and tryumph of myne eternity,) was, because I wold not partake with the diuell in the pompe and glory of thys World, which
25 is proper to him. Did not hee (presently after the first brute of my Gospell) hoyse mee vp vnto an exceeding hie Mountaine, and shewed mee all the Kingdomes of the Worlde, & the glories of them, and sayd, *All these will I giue thee, if thou wilt fall downe and worship me?* When
30 I came to *Abraham* in his Tent, and to *Lot* in *Sodom*, accompanied with another Angel, I tooke vpon me no pompous shape. It is debasement and a punishment to me, to inuest and enrobe my selfe in the dregs and drosse of mortality. I woulde resemble the similitude of the
35 meanest, to *gather* the meanest vnto me.

I came to call sinners to repentance, poore sinners, beggerly sinners, blinde sinners, impotent sinners, aswel as

rich sinners, noble sinners, potentate sinners, to repentance. With me there is no respect of persons; the Kings blood, attainted of conspiracie against mee, is more base then the caytiues or pesants. What was *Abraham* (but that he D 4v honoured mee), I shoulde out of his loynes mul-|tiply a 5 Monarchy? There is no cripple or lazer by the high-way side but wold haue honoured me more then the progenie of *Abraham*, if I had but bestowed the thousand part of the propitiousnes I haue bestowed on the progeny of *Abraham*. Shall a man call any crypple or Beads-man vnto him, to 10 gyue almes to, and hee will not come at him, but contemptuously cast hys kinde profer behind hym? I haue called you (that often haue beene Beggers and Beads-men vnto me) for blessings, & humbly supplicationd you to accept of my largesse I lauisht, but you cryde, Auaunt, 15 hypocrite, thy proferd ware is odious, we'le haue nothing to doe with an Innouater.

What hath immortalitie to doe with mucke? Had my Father no employment for mee, but to sende mee to scrape on a dung-hill for Pearle, where nothing will thriue but 20 Toade-stooles? Was thought-exceeding glorification such a cloyance and cumber vnto me, that I must leaue it; as *Archesilaus*, ouer-melodied and too-much melowed & sugred with sweet tunes, turned them aside, and caused his eares to be new relished with harsh, sower, and vnsauory sounds? 25 O no, when I left Heauen to lyue on earth, I left perpetuall-springing Summer, to sleepe on Beddes of Ise, in the Frozen-zone, the throne of Winter. My super-aboundant loue to men on earth was all the solace I proposed to my selfe on earth. *Vbi cuiusque animus est, ibi animat:* where a mans 30 minde is, there his myrth is.

Myrth was to me no mirth, whyles thou wert not *gathered* vnto mee. No more then I haue *gatherd* thee, can I *gather* thee: *As a Henne gathereth her Chickins, so woulde I haue gathered thy chyldren.* The Henne clocketh her Chickins; 35

5 (mul-)tiplie *c.w.* 14 me, for blessings,) & *Q.* 30 *Vbique cuiusque animus, est ibi animat 93, 94. Corr. in Errata.*

I would haue clocked and called them by my preaching: The Henne shieldeth them, and fighteth for | them against E 1 the Puttocke; I would haue shielded them, and secured them against that slie Puttocke sathan. I would haue 5 fought for them, with hell, the diuel, and all infernalitie. The Henne, after she hath clocked & called her chickins, keepeth them warme vnder her soft doune, walleth them in with her wings, and watcheth for them whiles they sleepe. After I had called you (my children or chyckins) vnder my 10 wings, which is, into my Church, I would haue beene a stronger wall vnto you then the wall of the Tower of *Babell*, which (as Writers affirme) was the eight part of a myle Herodot. thick: I would haue sette an Angell (with a fiery-sword) in your gate, to keepe out your enemies; Still would I (with 15 the heate & warmth of my Spirite) haue cherrisht and increast the strength & growth of your fayth, and kept it from being dead and cold; My vigilance shoulde haue sentineld for all your sleepes; neyther the terror by night, nor the Arrowe of temptation that flyeth by day, should 20 haue frighted you. Sathan (whom you now holde for such a subtile vnderminer) should haue beene your Foole and your iesting-stocke, and a scare-bugge to your Babes only. All things should haue prosperd and gone well, that you had taken in hand. *Happy is the man that sitteth in the* 25 *shaddow of the wings of the almighty:* vnhappy are you, that haue rather sought to dwell in the shadow of Death, then vnder the shadow of the wings of the Almighty.

O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, that killest my Prophets, & stonest them I sent vnto thee: How often woulde I haue gathered 30 *thy Chyldren together, as a Henne gathereth her Chickins vnder her winges, but you woulde not!* What is more tender then a Henne ouer her Chickins? So tender and more (ô *Ierusalem*) haue I beene ouer thy chyldren, yet would they neuer tender themselues, but tend and bend | all theyr E 1v 35 courses to ruine. Neuer could I gette them to flocke vnder my *wing*, or come vnder my roofe. Who takes charge of

23 that] which *13*. 24 *that man 13*.

him that in a time of warre will not come into the Towne, but lye wilfully without the walls? No charge doe I take of any that will not come within my walls, be *gathered vnder my wing*, but lyue out of the Church. Knew you what a fearcful thing it were, to lyue (as Out-lawes) from the winges of my Church, to let riches, promotion, or any worldly respects, hinder you from being *gathered* into the vnity of my body and communion of Saints, you would vndoubtedly forsake all, and follow me.

All those that repayred not in time into *Noahs*-Arke, the waters ouer-tooke and drowned. Those that *gathered* not Manna in the morning, it did them no good. Those that made excuses, and came not to the wedding when they were bidden, the King sent foorth his Warriours and destroyed them, and burnt vp theyr Citties. Sencelesse stones are more obedient vnto Gods voyce then you, for the stony-walls of *Iericho* (after God had summoned them by his Priestes sounding theyr Trumpets seauen times) at the 7. sounde they prostrated themselues flat. Not the third, or the fourth, or the fift sound haue you with-stoode, but fiue hundred solemne summons and sounds; No iudgement that (in your eares) I or any can sound can make you fall prostrate, or humble your selues. Still you wil lyue as runnagates and banished men from Gods iurisdiction; you had rather the diuell should gather you vp then he.

I haue pyped, and you haue not daunced, I haue lamented, and you haue not mourned: The dayes will come, when I shall be taken away from you, and then you shal wish (in vayne) that you had daunst after my pype, and borne a | principall part in my Consort of mourning. Let all successions and Citties be warned by you, howe they neglect Gods calling: let euery priuate man be admonished by you, how he neglecteth Gods calling. By benefites, by sicknes, by outward crosses, signes and wonders hee calleth

1 time] *Gro.*: Towne *Q.* 7 respect *13.* 18 seauen times] *13*, *Gro.*: thrice *93*, *94*. *Cf. Errata.* 7.] thirde *Q.* *Corr. in Errata of 93.* 20 fift [or the seuenth] sound *Gro.* 30 principal *c.w.* 31 they] you *13.*

men : *To day if you will heare my voyce, harden not your harts:* That is, at this present when I call you, harken to me. Who dooth not harken at the first, let hym looke to be hardned. *Pharao*, for hee woulde not at the
5 first voyce or message let the chyldren of Israell goe, his hart was hardned.

God when his voyce will not be hearde, permitteth the deuil to goe and try if his voyce wil be heard : if they heare the diuels and not his, then hath he wher-withall to conuince
10 them. *Ierusalem* hath hearde the voyce of God, crying out loude in her streetes and hie places vnto her, to *gather* herselfe: Her streetes and al her hie places are filled with the *ecchoes* of Gods voyce. The stones of her Turrets haue beene so mou'd with it, that they haue opened theyr eares
15 & receiued his *eccho* into them, and that the Cryer myght knowe they attended the wordes which he spake, they (*ecchoing*) repeated them againe. The very *eccho* of the walls and the stones shall *eccho* vnto God for sharpe punishment against you ; And let any but reade or rehearse
20 thys sentence, *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, how often would I haue gathered thy chyldren together, as the Henne gathereth her Chickins!* the *eccho* shall replye, *But they would not. They would not.* Thou *wouldest not* indeede. And no damnation hast thou *but thou wouldst not.* I offered thee peace,
25 *but thou wouldst not:* I offred thee to repent & be baptized, *but thou wouldst not:* I offred thee (if thou labourdst and wert loden) to ease thee, *but thou wouldst not:* I offerd thee to aske & thou shouldst haue, | *but thou wouldst not:* E 2v To knocke and it should be opend, *but thou woldst not.*
30 Great euils shalt thou endure, *for thou wouldst not.* Great euils did I say? alas, little euils, compared to the euils I must endure onely for these 4. words, *But thou wouldst not.*

Heu melior quanto sors tua sorte mea est. My body shall finde a Sepulcher, but my sorrowe neuer any, *for*
35 *thou wouldst not.* For euer I must mourne what thou for euer must suffer, *for thou wouldst not.* This will be

1 men] them *Gro.* you] *yee 13.*

thyne vtter impeachment, that the very *Samaritans* (whom thou accountest Infidels) receiued and acknowledged me, *but thou wouldst not;* That the vncleane spyrits departing out of men, cryde and confest mee to be the Sonne of God, *but thou wouldst not;* And lastly, that 5 the Spirite of God himselfe (discending on my head like a Doue) gaue testimony of me, *yet thou wouldst not.*

Gene. 19. *Clamor Sodomorum multiplicatus est:* The cry of thee, *Ierusalem* (the second *Sodom*), that *thou wouldst not*, in Gods eares is doubled. To what Nation shall I nowe 10 preach or appeale, since my elected people (that shoulde harken to me) haue aunswered me *they would not? Niniuie* repented at the preaching of *Ionas*, but *Ierusalem* at the preaching of her *Iesus, she would not.* I offerd to wash her feete with the waters of my tribulation, and heale euery 15 disease and maladie she had with them, as I healed the leprosie of *Naaman* with the waters of *Iordan*, but ouer the waters of my Teares and tribulation, shee passeth as driefoote as once they past ouer *Iordan.* The riuer of God is Psalm 65. full of water: *Ierusalem*, were thyne eyes the riuers of 20 God, they woulde bee full of water. The Snow on thy Mountaines by the Sunne is resolued to water: the Sonne of GOD hath sought to resolue thy snow-colde hart into E 3 water, but hee could not, for *thou* | *wouldst not.* Ouer thy principall gates and the doores of thy Temple, let therefore 25 this for an Emprese be engrauen: A kinde compassionate man, who, grieuing to see a serpentine Salamander fry in the fire (so pittiouslie as it seem'd), cast water on the raging flames to quench them, and was by him stung to death for his labour. The mott or word thereto, AT NOLVISTI, 30 *but thou woldst not.* As who should say, thank thy selfe though thou stil burnest: I wold haue ridde thee out of the fire, *but thou wouldst not.* By stinging mee (mortally) thou disturbest me.

On thee, Salamander-like *Ierusalem*, haue I cast the 35 coole water of my Teares, to keepe Hell-fire (if it might be)

3 *not.* That *Q.* 5 *not.* And *Q.* 18 as] on *13.* 32 thee] *13, Gro.*: thou *93, 94.*

from feeding on thee and inwrapping thee: but thou (delighting like that chillie Worme to liue in the midst of the fornace, or, as the foolish Candle-flie, to blow the fire with the beating of thy wings neere vnto it that must burne thee)
5 hast spit thy poyson at me when I sought to preserue thee. More agreeing is it to thy nature, to fry in the flames of thy fleshly desires, (which is but a short blaz'd straw-fire, to tinde or inkindle Hell-fire,) then to liue temperately quallified, midst *Insulæ fortunatæ*, the fortunate Ilands of
10 Gods fauour. For thys shalt thou be consumed with fire, *Thy house shal be left desolate vnto thee.*

Hetherto, with *Ieschaciabus*, thou hast had nought but a playster of dry-figges layd to thy byle, thou hast beene chastised but with wanton whips, but loe, shortlie (the time
15 comes) thou must be scourged with Scorpions : a hooke shall be cast into thy iawes, and a chayne come through thy nostrils. I nowe but fore-tell a storme in a calme, but when the Leuiathan shall approche, (that with his neesings chaseth Clowdes,) and you shall see | lightning and thunder E 3v
20 in the mouthes of all the foure Windes ; When Heauen (in stead of starres) shall bee made an Artillerie-house of Hayle-stones, and no Plannet reuolue any thing but prostitution and vastitie, then shall you know what it is, by saying *you would not, to make your house vnto you be left desolate.*

25 With the foolish builder, you haue founded your Pallaces on the sands of your owne shalow conceits: had you rested them on the true Rocke, they had beene ruine-proofe ; but now the raine wil rough-enter through the crannies of theyr wauering, the Windes will blow and batter ope wide
30 passages for the pashing shoures ; With roring and buffetting lullabies, in stead of singing and dandling by-os, they will rocke them cleane ouer and ouer. The onely commodity they shal tithe to their owners will be (by their ouer-turning) to affoord them Tombes vnaskt. Great shall bee the fall of
35 thy foolish building (ô *Ierusalem*) : like a Tower ouer-topt, it shal fal flatte, and be layd low and *desolate*.

25 foolish-builder *93, 94*.

In the Hauen of *Ioppa* shall arriue as many shyppes as would make a Marine-cittie, in bignesse no lesse then thy selfe. The *Helle-spont* by *Xerxes* was neuer so surcharg'd as it shall be. All *Galile* (from the Lande of *Nepthali* vpwards) shall bee but a quarter for theyr Pioners and a 5 couche for theyr baggage. From *Ierusalem* to the plaine of *Gibeon* (which is fiftie myles distance) the infinite enemy will depopulate and pitch his Pauilions. Man, woman, chylde, he shall vnmortalize & mangle; Oxen, Sheepe, Cammels, idely engore, and leaue to putrifie in the open 10 Fieldes, onely to rayse vp seede to Snakes, Adders, and Serpents. The Mount *Tabor* (whose heigth is thirty furlongs, and on whose toppe is a playne twentie-three fur-
E 4 longs broade) shall haue all the starre-gazing | Townes (on it scituate) iustled head-long downe from the heigth of his 15 fore-head, and breaking theyr backes with theyr stumbling rebutment, tumble in the ayre, like *Lucifer* falling out of Heauen into Hell. Yea, theyr Firmament-propping foundation shal be adequated with the Valley of *Iehosaphat*: whose sublimity (whiles it is in beheading), the Skye shall 20 resigne all his Clowdes to the Earth, and light-wing'd dust dignifie it selfe by the name of a meteor. From that blind-dispersed nyght of dust shall many lesser Mountaines receiue theyr loftie mounting: and part of it (being wind-wafted into the Sea) insert floating Ilands midst the Ocean. 25

None shall there bee left to fight the battailes of the Lorde but those that fight the battailes of theyr owne ambition. By none shall the Sanctuary be defended but those that wold haue none destitute it or defloure it but themselues. The feast of Tabernacles, the feast of 30 sweet Bread, and the feast of Weekes, shall quite be discalendred. Your Sabaothes and New-moones shall want a Remembrancer; Your Peace-offerings and continuall Sacrifice, (a thousand, two hundred, and ninetie days, as
Dan. 12. *Daniel* prophecied,) shall be put to silence. The abhomina- 35 tion of desolation shall aduaunce it selfe in your *Sanctum*

9 mangle. Oxen *Q*.

sanctorum. Vpon your Altars (in stead of oblations) your Priestes shall be slaughtered. Not so much as the High-priest (the vnder-god of your Cittie) but shal be hanged vp (as a signe) at the doore of your Temple.

5 The particularity of your general fore-spoken woes would worke in me a Timpany of Teares, if I shoulde portrayture it. I haue pronounst it, and your House (vnrepriueable) *vnto you shal be left desolate.* The resplendent eye-out-brauing buildings of your Temple (like a | Drum) shal be E 4v
10 vngirt & vnbraced: the soule of it, which is the (fore-named) *Sanctum sanctorum,* cleane shall be strypt and vnclothed. God shall haue nere a Tabernacle or retyring place in your Citty, which hee shall not be vndermined and desolated out of. The Sun & Moone (perplexed with the spectacle) shall
15 flye farther vpward into Heauen, and be afraide least (when the besiegers haue ended be-lowe) they next sack them out of theyr seiges or circuits, since they haue had God (their common Creator) so long in chase.

Ierusalem, euer after thy bloody hecatombe or buriall,
20 the Sunne (rising & setting) shal enrobe himselfe in scarlette, and the mayden-Moone (in the ascention of her perfection) shal haue her crimson cheekes (as they wold burst) round balled out with bloode. Those ruddy inuesturings and scarlet habilements, from the clowde-climing slaughter-
25 stack of thy dead carkases, shall they exhalingly quintes-sence, to the end thou maist not onelie bee culpable of gorging the Earth, but of goring the Heauens with blood: and in witnes against thee, weare them they shall to the worlds end, as the lyueries of thy wayning.

30 Not *Abrahams* sonnes are you, but the sonnes of blood, for in nothing you imitate *Abraham* but that hee (hauing no more saue one onely sonne) would haue sacrific'd him; so GOD hauing no more but one onely Sonne, you lye in waite to crucifie and sacrifice him. For thine owne distruc-
35 tion (disgraded Daughter of *Syon*) thou lyest in wayte, in

17 or] and *13.* *Corr. in Errata.* 18 common-Creator *Q.* 24–5 slaughter-sacke *93, 94.* 25 quintenssence *93, 94.*

laying waite for me: that which I hunger & thirst after is thy saluation in my destruction. I am enamour'd of my Crosse, because it is all ages blessing. Not a nayle in it but is a necessary Agent in the Worlds redemption. |

F 1 Holie Crosse, *Adams* of-spring, onely holines, I grieue 5 that vpon thee I can spend none of my God-head as wel as my humanity, to glorifie the more this great exploit. For the desolating and disinheriting of Hell haue I that reserued, none but the God of heauen may leade captiuitie captiue, & returne Conquerer from that dungeonly Kingdome. 10 Strange is it (ô *Ierusalem*) that I shoulde be able to conquer and forrage Hell, and yet cannot conquer or bring vnder thee to mine obedience. To speake troth, (as in my lyps is no guile,) thou art not worthy to be conquered, or haue the host of thine affections subdued by mee, that hast admitted 15 of a baser Conquerour, which is the diuell, after whom I can succeede with no honour.

The Romaines (not I) shall conquer thee, and *leaue thy house desolate vnto thee:* who being Heathens and not knowing God, are a degree of indignity inferiour to the diuell, for 20 hee knowes God, and with feare & trembling acknowledgeth him. Wouldst thou with fear & trembling haue fledde to me for refuge against the diuel and the Romaines, when I would haue *gathered* thee, both the diuell and the Romaines (at one instant) had beene subdued to thine hand. But vnder 25 my standard *thou woldest not*, thou scornedst to *gather* thee, *therefore shal thy house be left desolate vnto thee:* therefore shal Gods house *bee left desolate vnto thee.* Maiesticall Temple, on whose Pinacle once I was tempted, thou and I (one after another) must perrish, for no fault of our owne, 30 but for the sinnes of this people.

No profite, but disprofite, shall the scattered ashes of thy obsequies bring vnto them, nor shall they, like the ashes of me the true Phœnix, liue againe: neuer shall thy body (like F 1v mine) be raised againe. Raced and defaced | shalt thou be, 35 as thou hadst neuer beene. Haplie Caues for wild-beastes

5 *Run on in Gro.* 11 is it] it is *13.*

(many yeeres together) thou mayst affoord, but the Lorde of Hostes shall abandon thee, the King of Israell shall abiure thee. By *Herod* (a man of blood) thou wert last builded, and in bloode shalt thou be buried. O let mee em-
5 brace thee while thou yet standest, and I am not translated: heereafter (perhaps) nere may I haue the opportunity to embrace thee. This present houre that is graunted, I will put out to vsury. On thy Alablaster out-side, with scalding sighes & dimming kisses, a greater dew I will rayse then
10 lyes vpon sweatie Marble a little before rayne.

Methinkes these stones looke shyning and smyling vpon mee: *Ierusalem* frownes like a Shee-beare seeking her whelpes. These stones start not out of theyr assigned places, but still retaine theyr imposed first proportion: from mee
15 (her foundation) long agoe hath *Ierusalem* started, out of those limits and bounds I assignd her hath she started, her order she hath broken, my building shee hath subuerted; no forme or face of my workmanshyp is visible in her. But yet, were nothing but her face and out-side deformed, it
20 were some-what; her in-side is worst of all: her Hart, her Lunges, her Liuer, & her Gal, all are carioniz'd and contaminated with surfets of selfe-will. Her owne hart she eateth and disgesteth into the draught with riotte and excesse.

Poore Temple, long might'st thou stand, & not haue a
25 stone of thee disquieted til the Iudgement-day, if those to whom thou belongest were not ten-times branded in the fore-head for Reprobates, not with the marke of the Lambe, but the Lyon, who (roring) seeketh whom he may deuoure. Distresse-fully am I diuided from thee; my soule (when it
30 shall be diuided from mee) will not | endrench mee in so much F 2
dolour as thou doost. The zeale of thee distraughteth me, and some essentiall parte of my life seemeth to forsake me and droppe from mee, when I thinke of thy diuastation. Nothing so much dooth macerate and madde mee, as that all
35 the sky-perfuming prayers & profuse sacrificatory expences of ful-hand oblationers should not haue force to vphold

9 I will] will I *13*

thee. Desolation, for no debt of sinne shalt thou extende on this Temple; that thou hast to extend against it, extende against me, for it is my Fathers habitation. It will but augment his indignation against this Citty and doe thee no good, to dryue hym out of house and home, and reserue him no sanctified mansion vppon earth. Let there be one peculiar Treasury of supplications & vowes vndestroyed and vnpillaged.

O Father, be this House more high-pryzed to thee then Paradice; More worshyp and adoration hast thou had in it then in Paradice. There thou setst a fiery-armed Gardant to repulse insolent inuaders; sette some garisonment before the gate of thy Tabernacle, to oppugne the dispossessors of thy Dietie. Thou canst not heare me; I pray for them whose sinnes sue against mee. Thou hast decreed (in thy secrete iudgement), *There house shall bee left desolate vnto them:* Thou hast decreed I shall be left desolate on the Crosse, and cry, *Eloi, Eloi, lamma-sabachthani*, vnayded or vnregarded. Willing am I to execute thy will; onely let me not in vaine gyue vp the ghost, but some soules of this Panther-spotted *Ierusalem* may bee extraught to ioy with me.

O that myne armes were wide enough to engraspe the walls of *Ierusalem* about, that in myne amorous enfoldment (vnawares) I might whyrle her to Heauen with me! Why should I not dryue all Israell before me | to the greate felicity, as a Sheepheard before him drieueth his flocke to the fatte Pastures? I shall neuer dryue you before me; you wil driue me before you (with murder & violence) to immortality, and your selues not one foote follow after. *Pol me occidistis amici*, you whom I thought to binde to me as friends, haue foe-like betraied me. Because I am humble I may not please you. Because I am Christ the iust, therfore you will designe me to the Crosse vniustly. *Est mihi supplicij causa fuisse pium.* Wold God there were no other exclamatory crime then this to be obiected against thee. Yet haue I suffered of thee nothing but feare. More then feare am I (within these fewe dayes) to entertaine at thy hands.

Slay me thou shalt, because I haue vouchsafed to liue with thee, and doome me an vnwoorthy ende in leiu of my deere loue. *Tu mihi criminis author*, no imputation of scandale shall I haue but the heauie burthen of thy abuses. 5 Thou shalt be my vninocence and whole summe of delinquishment: thy right hand of my death shall be arraigned. *Hoc prohibete nefas, scelerique resistite vestro.* Not the prophane Idolatry of the Gentiles in my sides shall delue so deepe, as thy stiffe-necked transgressions. Lesse doe I 10 deplore my death then thy lyfe; and a thousande times haue I wisht and desired, that thou hadst onely occasion to repent my death and not thine own other misdeeds. Repent yet, & I will repent me of the pronouncement against thee. Should I not so haue pronounst and denunciated against 15 thee, thy blood would haue beene required at my hands. Ezech. 3. *Therefore is my people ledde captiue* (sayth the Lord by *Esay*), Esay. 5. *because they know mee not.* Your pretence of vnknowledge or ignorance is already counterpleaded: you shal not say, Woe be to me that I neuer tasted the mylke of vnderstand- 20 ing, but (with *Iob*) banne | the time that euer you suckt the F 3 breastes. At my breastes, *Ierusalem*, hast thou not suckt, but bitte off my breasts, *when thou stonedst my Prophets. O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, that stonest my Prophets, and killest them I sent vnto thee: How often would I haue gathered thy* 25 *chyldren together, as a Henne gathereth her Chickins vnder her wings, but thou woldest not! Therefore shall thy House bee left desolate vnto thee.*

Heere ebbe the spring-tide of my Teares; Eyes, from this present, prepare your selues to be recluses. I came 30 not to shedde Teares, but Blood, for *Ierusalem*, blood for *Ierusalem* will I shedde, to attone for her shedding of innocent blood; So that let her yet turne vnto me, her attonement is made. I will corroborate my Crosse Giant-like, to vnder-beare the *Atlas* burthen of her insolences. 35 With my Nazarite-tresses, to my Crosse will I bind her crossing frowardnesse and contaminations. Not a nayle

22 when thou stonedst the Prophets *13*.

that takes hold of me, but I wil (expresly) enioyne it to take hold of her deflectings and errors. Death, (as euer thou hopest at my hands to haue thy Commission enlarged,) when thou killest me, kill her iniquities also: let thy deepe-entring Darte obliuionize their memories. 5

Of man (as of mee) thou killest but the body onelie: kill the body & the soule both of her vnbounded sinne-gluttonie. I will pay thee largely for thy paines. Wheras before thou neuer tookst any but the subiects prysoners, now thou shalt haue the King himselfe surrendred to thy 10 cruelty. Thou shalt enrich thy style with this title, *I, Emperour Death, the Lord of all flesh, the killer of the King of all Kings, &c.* Deale well by *Ierusalem*, how euer thou dealest with me. Let not her Soule *be left desolate*, though her Citty *be left desolate vnto her.* | 15

F 3v Euen the High-priestes that shall binde myne handes and adiudge my body to bee scourged, deale mercifullie with, cutte them not off suddainly, but giue them a space of repentance. Let them bee crowned with eternitie, though they crowne me with thornes. Their crowning mee 20 with thornes I take for no trespasse, for they cannot pricke mee so ill with those bryers as they haue prouokt mee with theyr sinnes. Nor shall the Gall and Vineger they gyue me to drinke bee so bitter vnto mee as theyr blasphemies. Forgyue them, Lord, they forget what they doe. 25

Further I may not proceede, except I should detract from my Passion to adde to my Teares. Hee that can weepe with more soule-martirdome then I, let him take vppon him to wash (in my stead) the earths Ethiopian face. Euery vaine of mee let it burst, to feede the Lake 30 of *Gehenna*, before *Gehenna* gather springs from the hart of *Ierusalem*. Not the least hayre of my body, but may it be as a pegge in a vessell, to broche bloode with plucking out, so in the droppings of that bloode *Ierusalem* will bathe herselfe. *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, that stonest my* 35 *Prophets, and killest them I sent vnto thee,* ten thousand

25 Forgyue . . . doe] *Italic in 13.*

times adiew. I would neuer haue bidde thee adiew, or beene diuorced from thee, but that thou thy selfe hast diuorced thy selfe. Heauen no heauen hast thou made vnto mee, by endlesse performing thy obits. If my crimson Teares on
5 the Crosse may more preuaile with thee, so it is, or els in vaine I discended, or els to thy paine I discended.

Discende into the closet of thyne owne conscience, and enquire how oft I haue come thither and cald vppon thee to *gather* thee. Examine thy hart & thy reynes if I haue
10 not secretely communed with thee by night, to | conuert F 4 & be turned vnto me. Thou neuer withdrewst thy selfe and wert solitarie, but my Spyrite was reproouing and disputing with thee. At length shall I obtaine of thee to remember and *gather* thy selfe? Though thou wilt
15 not in respect of me (whom thou shouldest respect), yet in respect of thyne own benefite, remember and *gather* thy selfe, enter into meditation of thy lamentable estate. But heare thy Physition, though thou intendest not to be ruled by him. Vnderstande the nature of thy disease,
20 which is the first steppe to recouery. Relieue my languor, by being lesse retchles of thy inuinsible aspiring infirmity. Glance but halfe a kind looke at mee, though thou canst not resolue to loue me; by halfe a looke my loue may steale into thine eyes, vnlookt for. Thy sight is no way
25 mispent or impayred by casting away one askance-regard on any.

The Sunne shyneth aswell on the good as the badde: God from on hie beholdeth all the workers of iniquity, aswell as the vp-right of hart. It behoueth thee to try
30 al spyrits, let my Spyrite bee one of those (all) which thou bringest to the Touch-stone. I doe not wil thee, without tryall, on my bare report to bee directed by it, but when thou hast tryde it, & sifted it to the vttermost, then as it approues it selfe, to entertaine it. Vppon vncertaine
35 experiments, (hauing the least pretence of gaine in thẽ,) men will hazard and venture many thousands: try once

21 inuinsible] inuisible *13*.

an experiment to gayne Heauen with; Venture or hazard but a few indifferent good thoughts of mee. I say I am thy *Messias*, and am come to *gather* thee: condemne me not rashly, but awaite and see the end of my *gathering*, wherto it sorts. Search the Scriptures and the Prophets, whether 5 I be a lyer and impostor or no. I woulde gyue thee leaue F 4v to hate me, so thy hate woulde make thee in-|dustrious & sedulous to harken out & enquire whence I am. Were I notorious guilty, and, vnexamined & vnheard, you should sentence me, you should gyue to me amongst men an 10 opinion of innocence: beeing not guilty, you make your iudgements guilty of knowing I am not guilty, in proceeding against mee without circumstaunce or proofe. I speake all this while to the winde, or as a disconsolate prysoner that complayneth himselfe to the stone-walls. 15

God is mooued and mollified (though hee be neuer so incensed) with often and vnslacked intercessions; Golde (which is the soueraigne of Mettals) bends soonest, onely Iron (the pesant of all) is most inflexible. *Ierusalem* with nothing is mooued, therfore must her Tabernacle be 20 remooued, therefore must *her House be left desolate vnto her*. Often, importunately, violently, eagerly haue I intercessioned vnto her, to *gather* herselfe vnto me: I haue kneel'd, wept bitterly, lift vp myne handes, hunge vpon her, and vowed neuer to let her goe, til shee consented 25 to retire herselfe into my tuition, & aunswerd pleasingly to my petition. Neuer did the Widdow in my Parrable so follow and tyre the wicked Iudge wyth fury-haunting instancie, as I haue doone her. No where could she rest but I haue alarumd in her eares her pryde, murder, and 30 hypocrisie, and with dismall crying and vociferatiue inculcating vnto her, drawne my throat so hie into the roofe of my mouth, that it hath quite swallowd vp & ensheathed my tongue, and threatend to turne my mouth out of his office. 35

I haue crackt mine eye-strings with excessiue staring and stedfast heauen-gazing, when with fast-fortified prayer

and eare-agonizing inuocation I haue distressed my Fathers soule for her; so that (enrag'd) hee hath bid | me out of his G 1 sight, chyd me, rebukt me, and impatiently said, as he sayd vnto *Moyses*, Let mee alone, that I may wreake myne anger 5 on her and consume her. None of these may ouer-come her: the bloode of my Prophets, and the hundred-voyc't clamor of her multiplied mutinies gainst Heauen, are farre louder before my Father then I, they out-throate me, and put mee downe I cannot be heard, euen as one that howles 10 puts downe him that sings. Mee would not *Ierusalem* heare, when with sweet songs I haue allur'd, cluckt, & wooed her to come vnder my wings: therefore will not my Father heare any man that once names her. When I pray for her, her sinnes fall a howling that I should not 15 be heard.

My wings her gray-headed sturdy disobedience hath now cleane vnpinioned and broken, so that (though I would) I cannot *gather* her. Besides, she hath steeled my soft impressiue hart, and mirmidoniz'd myne eyes, that they 20 shall neuer giue griefe a Teare more almes. Poore Hennes, there is nothing so tender as you are ouer your Chickins, but had you, as I haue, none but Kites and Kistrels to your Chickins, such as flie against the winde as soone as they are borne, and *gather* themselues in Armes against 25 you when you offer to *gather* them, you woulde learne of mee, to leaue off to be so tender.

To *desolation* (*Ierusalem*) must I leaue thee, *desolation* that taketh his watch-worde *from thou wouldst not: Desolation*, the greatest name of vengeance that is; *Desolation*, 30 which hath as many branches of misery as Hell belonging to it; *Desolation*, the vtmost Arrow of Gods indignation. I cannot in tearmes expresse the one quarter this word *Desolation* containeth. *Dauid*, in the depth of hys despayre of Gods mercy, sayd, Hee was left as *Desolate* as the 35 *Pellican* in the wildernesse, or the Owle on the house | top. This is the *Desolation* of the Pellican in the Wilder- G 1v

7 against *13*. 28 from *thou 13*. 31 it. *Desolation 93, 94*.

nesse, that when she hath her bowels vnnaturally torne out by her young ones (into the world tirannously entring), and they leaue her in the extremity of her torment, and will not deigne her (for all her deere trauell) one comforting aspect of compassion, to herselfe (twixt lyuing and dying) 5 herselfe she complayneth. Blood and teares equally she spendeth, and as her wombe is rent out with vngrateful fruitfulnesse, so now her hart shee rents out with selfe-gnawing discontentment, and dyeth, not decayed by age, but destroyed by her of-spring. 10

The mellancholy Owle (Deaths ordinary messenger) that nere weildeth his lazie leaden winges but by night, and in his huge lumpish head seemeth to haue the house of sleepe built, then is most solitarie and *desolate*, when (restrained from tuning his owne priuate disconsolations 15 to the darke gloomy ayre) he is sent to sing on a desolate house-toppe a dolefull dreary ditty of destiny, *Alijsque dolens fit causa dolendi. Ierusalem*, euen as the Pellican in the Wildernesse, so (by thine owne progenie) shalt thou haue thy bowels torne out: by ciuill warres shalt thou be 20 more wasted then outwarde annoyance. Those whom thou most expectest loue of shall be most vnnaturall to thee. Not onely teares shal they constraine thee to weepe, but blood, and vrge thee rent out thine owne hart in ruing their irreligiousnesse. As the Owle on the house-toppe 25 euer-more howlingly calls for some Corse, and is the first Mourner that comes to any funeral, so (*Ierusalem*) shalt thou, howling, sitte like the Owle on thy hie places and house-tops, and tune nothing but layes of ill lucke and *desolation*, and funerall Elegies of thy forlorne ouer- 30 throw. Thus shalt thou sing, *Sodome is suncke, and I must succeede.* |

G 2 " God promised hee woulde nere-more drowne the
" World in water, but mee hee hath drowned in blood.
" All the Eagles of the fielde feede theyr young ones with 35
" my young-mens carkasses. Myne olde Sages & Gouer-

24 thee to rent *13*. 33 neuer-more *13*.

nours strowe the streetes with theyr white hayres like "
strawes : their withered dead-bodies serue to mende High- "
waies with, and turne standing Quagmyres to firme "
ground (ramd full of their corses). My Virgins and "
5 Matrons, in stead of paynting theyr faces ruddie, colour "
them with theyr Kins-folkes gore. Happie is that Wife "
which may entombe her slaughtred Husband in her Well "
or Cesterne. Happy is that Sister that (for strewing- "
hearbes) may scatter her discheueld Mayden-hayre on "
10 her dead Brothers trunck. "

Euen as there be many Foules that eate vp their own "
Egges, so the Children are fayne to feede the Mother ; "
The Infant which she trauels with nine monthes in her "
bellie, once againe hunger thrusteth into her empty-famisht "
15 body. The Babes in conception (beeing halfe entred "
out of the wombe, and but with one eye beholding the "
miseries of their Country) return crying back againe "
whence they came, and chuse rather to tumble forth stil- "
borne, then viewe the Worlde in such hurly-burlie. "

20 So exceeding are mine aduersities that after successions "
which shall heare of them will euen be *desolate* and exiled "
from myrth with the hearing. *Adams* fall neuer so woe- "
enwrapped the earth, as the relation of them shall. Christ, "
the Sonne of GOD, (all mens Sauiour but mine,) fore- "
25 prophecied *I should thus bee left desolate*, but I belieued "
it not : therefore is my *desolation* vnlookt for come vpon "
mee ; therefore am I made a scorne to the Gentiles of "
confusion. | "

O *Ierusalem*, *Ierusalem*, all this might'st thou haue G 2v
30 auoyded : I neuer sought the death of a sinner ; my death
thou hast sought, for I labourd to saue thee. Saue thy
selfe as well as thou mayst, for I haue forsaken thee ; to
desolation haue I resigned thee. If in this worlde thou
endurest thy punishment patiently (and canst purge thy
35 Soule by repentance), in my world of ioy I shall be readie
to receiue thee ; otherwise, I haue nought to doe with
thee, *thy Soule, as thy House, be left desolate vnto thee.*

HEere doe I confine our Sauiours collachrimate Oration, and putting off his borrowed person, restore him to the tryumphancie of his Passion. Now priuately (as mortall men) let vs consider howe his threats were after verified in *Ierusalems* ouer-turne. 5

Should I write it to the proofe, weeping would leaue me no eyes: like tragick *Seneca*, I shoulde tragedize my selfe, by bleeding to death in the depth of passion. Admirable Italian teare-eternizers, *Ariosto*, *Tasso*, and the rest, nere had you such a subiect to roialize your Muses with. 10 Of a late destruction of *Ierusalem*, *Tasso*, thou wrot'st, wherein thy *Godfry of Bulloyne*, the destroyer, beareth the chiefe part of honour. A counterfeit *Melpomene* (in comparison of this) was thy Muses Midwife, when that child of Fame was brought forth. Let no man think to enter into 15 this History as hee should, but a consumption of sorrow wil cutte him of ere he come to the end. God forbid I shold be so Luciferous passionatiue-ambitious, to take vpon me the full blast of this *desolatiue*-Trumpet of *Ierusalem*; a weake breath or two I will writhe into it, and 20 G 3 with a hoarse sound (such as fitteth farre-spent lan-|guorment), manifest, as it were in a dead-marche, her vntimely interment.

Forty yeeres were expired after our Lordes lifting vp into Heauen, when the Temple-boasting Iewes (elate in 25 theyr owne strength) began to pretend a wearines of the Romaine regiment, and coueted to raigne intire Lords, ouer the Lords that raignd ouer them. *Eleazer*, the Sonne of *Anani* the High-priest, was the first that seminarizd thys hope of signiorizing and freedome amongst them. 30 Proudly he controlled *Agrippa* and all the other Leiftenaunts, droue them from theyr dignities to Rome to seeke succour and rescue, and swayed ouer the multitude as the King and Father of theyr liues. In the meane-while the Element was ouer-hung with prodigies. GOD thought it 35 not enough to haue threatend them by his Sonne, but he

5 ouer-ture *Q*: ouer-tur[n]e *Gro.* 21 (lan-)guorment) *c.w.*

emblazond the ayre with the tokens of his terror. No Starre that appeared but seemd to sparkle fire. The Sunne did shyne all day as it is wont at his Euening going downe. The Moone had her pale-siluer face iron spotted
5 with freckle-imitating blood-sprincklings; and for her dimme frostie circle, a blacke inckie hood embayling her bright head.

Ouer the Temple (at the solemne feast of the Passeouer) was seene a Commet most coruscant, streamed & tayled forth with glistering naked swords, which in his mouth (as
10 a man in his hand) all at once he made semblance as if hee shaked and vambrasht. Seauen dayes it continued; all which time the Temple was as cleare & light in the night as it had beene noone day. In the *Sanctum sanctorum* was hearde clashing and hewing of Armour. Whole flockes
15 of Rauens (with a fearefull croking cry) beate, fluttred, and clasht against the windowes. A hideous dismal Owle (exceeding all her kind | in deformity and quantity) in G 3v the Temple-porche built her nest. From vnder the Altar there issued penetrating plangorous-howlings and gastlie
20 dead-mens grones. A goodly young Heyfer, hald thither for a burnt offering, beeing knockt downe & ready to be drest, miraculouslie calued a Lambe.

The sacrificing knyues that diu'd into her entrayles wold afterwards by no meanes be clensed, but from her blood
25 (as from mans bloode) tooke vnto them an vnremoueable rust. In the feast of Weekes, in the inner receipt of the Temple, was hearde one stately stalking vp and downe, and exclayming with a terrible base hollow voyce, *Migremus hinc, Migremus hinc, è Templo emigremus:* Let vs goe
30 hence, Let vs goe hence, out of thys Temple let vs hie vs. What should I ouer-blacke mine Incke, perplexe pale Paper, rumatize my Readers eyes, with the sadde tedious recitall of all the prognosticating signes of theyr ruine? Stories haue lost and tyred themselues in thys story. Should
35 I but make an Index to anie one Wryter of them, it woulde aske a Booke alone. Some fewe abreuiated aledgments

6 inky-hood *13*. bright-head *13*. 10)] *after* once *Q*. 29 è *93, 94*.

I will content my selfe with, and so passe onwarde to more necessary matter.

Aboue and besides the propheticall apparitions, in, ouer, and about the Temple, in the Cittie there happened no lesse note-worthy predictions. The East-gate therof, which was 5 all yron, and neuer wont to be opend vnder twenty men together, (the dry rusty creeking of whose hookes and gymmes as it was in the opening, might be heard a myle of,) now of the owne accorde burst wide ope, and beeing ope, was twise more harde then before to be shut. A base 10 mechanicall fellow there was, sprung out of the mudde of G 4 the Communalty, who for foure | yeeres together before the warres begunne, went crying vp and downe, *Woe to Ierusalem and the Sanctuarie thereof, woe to euery liuing thing that breatheth therin.* The warres once entred, he gotte 15 him on the walls, and often reiterating hys stale-worne note, added thereunto, *Woe, and thrise woe to my selfe*, and with that, start a stone out of an Engine in the Campe and stopt his throate. Manie monstrous byrthes at thys instant were brought foorth: in diuers places of the Citty sprung 20 vp founts of bloode. The Element euery night was embattailed with Armed men, skyrmishing and conflicting amongst themselues; and the imperiall Eagles of Rome were plainly there displayed to all mens sight. A burning sword also was sette foorth, visibly bent against the Citty. 25 The strangest and horriblest tempests of thunder and lightning had they that euer was heard of.

The Earth left to be so fruitfull as it wont. No season but it exceeded hys stinted temprature. Euery thing rebelled against kind, as thinking scorne to accommodate 30 themselues to theyr vses, that had so rebelled against the Lord. For all thys, there was no man that would *gather* hymselfe, no man that would depart from the ill worke he had in hand. *Ambulabant vt cæci quia Domino peccauerunt.* Theyr eyes were ouer-filmed or blinded, because they 35 obeyed not theyr Maker.

17 adde *Q*: adde[d] *Gro.*

NOW is the tyme that all Riuers must runne into the Sea, that whatsoeuer I haue in witte or eloquence must bee drayned to the delineament of wretchednesse.

The Romaines, like a droue of Wild-Bores, roote vp and 5 forrage fruitful *Palestine*. That which was called the *Holy Land* is now vnhallowed with theyr Heathen | swords. G 4v Wherefore you Pilgrims, that spende the one halfe of your dayes in visiting the *Land of Promise*, and weare the plants of your feete to the likenesse of withered rootes, by bare- 10 legd processioning (from a farre) to the Sepulcher, vngainefully you consume good houres, for no longer was *Iudea* a Lande of Promise, then her Temple stoode. *Vespasians* inuasion hath prophaned it: a Mount of deade-bodies ouer that Sepulcher is raysed which you perigrinate to adore; 15 That Sepulcher you see, is but a thing built vp by Saracens to get mony with, and beguile votiue Christians. They delude your superstition, and make it theyr tributary slaue.

No Hogstie is now so pollutionate as the earth of *Palestine* and *Ierusalem*. Our Sauiours steppes are quite vnsanctified 20 in them, and troden out of sente, by the irruptiue ouertrampling of the Romans. A newe storie of flesh-manured earth haue they cast vpon it, and made it no more the walke of Saints and Prophets, but a poysonous nurcery of Beastes of pray and Serpents.

25 O GOD, enlarge myne inuention and my memorie, sincerely and feelingly to rehearse the disornamenting of thys mother of Citties.

Vnderstand that before the arriuall of *Vespasian*, there were in *Ierusalem* three factions. *Eleazers*, which was the 30 fundamentiue and first, *Iehochanans* next, and *Schimeons* the last. *Eleazer* and *Iehochanan*, the vngodliest that euer God made, *Schimeon* except (and hee might well haue beene Schoole-maister to *Cayne* or *Iudas*, hee was such a grand *Keysar* of cut-throates). From the noblest of the Iewes 35 discended, but hys nobilitie, ere he came to it, by hys degenerate conditions he forfeyted. A man hee was that

23 nurcery *93, 94*. 34 cutthroates *93, 94*.)] *after 'Iudas,' in l.* 33. *Q*.

made a mockery of all Lawes and Religion, and any thing
H 1 which Authority forbad most greedily would | embrace;
thinking, as the best Pastures are hedgd in, the best
Orchards wald about, the best Mettals hutcht vppe, so there
was nothing excellent but was forbidden, and whatsoeuer 5
was forbidden was excellent. For malice or hatred he
would not stabbe or murder men so much, as against he
had iust occasion to stab or murder, to keep his hand in
vre. He held it as lawful for hym (since al labouring in
a mans vocation is but getting) to gette wealth as wel with 10
his sword by the High-way side, as the Laborer with his
Spade or Mattocke, when all are but yron; besides, as there
is none hath any wealth which he getteth not from another,
so deem'd he it as free for him as another, to gette from
other men; concluding, as there is no better tytle to a 15
Kingdome then conquest, so there is no better clayme vnto
wealth then by the conquest of a strong hand to compasse
it. Adultery, fornication, drunkennesse, no sinne but hee
would defende and offende in.

For the multitude of these and other his abhominations, 20
banisht he was, and longer in *Ierusalem* might hee not
roust: wherefore no possibility had hee to preuent beggery,
or redeeme hys estate, but by proclaiming (in all places
where he came) the trade he profest. The tenure of his
Proclamation was thys. That if there were any that had 25
dudgen-olde coughing miserly Fathers they could not
endure: If there were any that had repining victuall-scanting
Maisters, tyrannizing neuerthelesse for their work:
If there were any that were Creditor-crazd, and deade and
buried in debt, and knewe not which way to rise out of it, 30
let them repayre to him, and tyll Doomes-day they should
haue a protection. Yea, if there were euer a good fellow
that lou'd a Harlot as hys lyfe, woulde haue Letters-patents
H 1v to take purses, had a | desire to kyll and not be hangd,
would sweare and forsweare for single-mony, and had not so 35
much as a crum of conscience to put in his pottage, let him

15 is] *om. 13.* tittle *13.*

or them what ere resort vnder his standard, and theyr humors should be maintained.

Twenty thousand of these dreggy lees of Libertines hiu'd vnto him in a moment, whom hee cleped the *Flower of*
5 *Chiualry;* for they feard no man, and cared neither for God nor the diuel. With them hee burnt the greene Corne in the fieldes, pluckt downe Barnes and Store-houses, stubd vp Orchards and Vineyardes, and made desolate hauock where euer he came.

10 To *Ierusalem* (after much slaughter and spoyle) with thys his Outlaw-Army hee reacht, and there enter-leagued himselfe with *Eleazar* and *Iehochanan*. The first thing after theyr ioyning they did, was the displacing of the *Sanhadrin*, which were the Iudges & threescore and tenne
15 Elders, and sharing the gouernment equally amongst them. Then the Sacrifice they silenced, put the High-Priest to death, and conuerted the Temple to an Armory. Long could they not agree, but as empery admitteth no mateshyppe, so dyd they enuie one another, made heads against
20 one another, mutually skyrmisht with one another. Theyr enemies were without, but within lurkt the plague that went thorow-stitch.

Twenty thousand in one day the internal ciuil sword eate vp. The Edomites, let in by *Iehochanan*, of the wel-
25 thiest Cittizens slew eyght thousand and fiue hundred in one night. Heere begins the *desolation* Christ prophecied, within and without vengeaunce bestirreth her; within it raged most, for within sinne raigned most. Let me suddainly waxe olde, and woe-wrinckle my cheekes before theyr
30 tyme, by describing the deplored effectes | of theyr sinnes H 2 within. First, for the *desolation* of theyr ceremoniall Religion, some-thing I haue sayd alreadie, but the summe of all was this, that if any Priest approcht nere the Altar, the bloode of him and his offring was blended together. The
35 reuerent Ephods were made the slaughter-mens Aprons: many venerable Leuites they bound to the Altar by the

36 Leuites] Saintes *Gro.*

hayre of theyr beardes. The Vessels of the House of the Lorde they put to vile vses. Not any consecrated thing but they arrested and made booty of. Young chyldren whom theyr Mothers ledde in theyr hands along with them to the Temple to offer, (inhumaine to be tolde) they tooke 5 and mercilesse cast into the sacrificatory flame, and on the same Altar (after they were consumed) most sacriligiously rauisht theyr Mothers. Some men (whom they could not otherwise draw into theyr daunger) they would inuite to treaty in the Temple, saying: There is the Tabernacle of 10 the Lord, there is the Arke of his presence, there if we shold drawe our blades, it were abhomination vnremissible. Why distrust you vs? suppose you vs to bee without GOD? carry wee not the couenaunt of our Father *Abraham* in our loynes as well as you? By him that oweth thys Temple 15 we sweare, and all the misticall riches thereof, you shall depart thence vnmolested. Who so on theyr othes or theyr words affianst them, were sure to washe the pauement with the best iuyce of their breasts.

Not onely those that came to offer, but those that but 20 offred to kneele in the Temple, they ran through. The Marble flore of it they made so slippery with theyr vnrespited, and not so much as Saboth-ceased blood-shed, and bowel-clinging fatte of them that were slaine, that a man H 2v might better swimme then walke on it. The place | without 25 the Citty where they carryed theyr dung, and buried the entrailes of Beastes, halfe so pestilently stunck not, as that stuncke with dunghils of dead-bodies. The entry of the Court of the Lorde was changed to a standing Lake of blood. The siluer gates of the Temple no more were gates 30 for deuoute worshippers to enter at, but slimie flood-gates for thicke iellied gore to sluce out by. Who hath seene a Vaulte vnder a Church full of dust-died sculs and rustie dead mens bones, might (after that grosse streame of gore a little was turnd aside, & the bloode dryed vp) rightly 35 allude the Temple there-vnto; for nowe it was no more a

16 the] *om.* *13*. 31 enter in at *13*.

prayer-prospering House, but a pudlie Vault of dead-mens bones and cast-out bodies kneaded to durte. Her Alablaster walls were all furred & fome-painted with the bespraying of mens braines donge out against them. Her hie roofe 5 was mingle-colourd with mounting drops of blood, that seemd, by soking into it, to seek for passage to heauen.

The siedge growing hote, the seditious harts somewhat quailed, and then they made shew as they would correct themselues, as they would renounce theyr tumultuous 10 tyrannies, And wheras, lately before, they had depriued the High-priest both of life and office, nowe (dissemblingly remorsed) they would needs, in all haste, in hys roome sette vp another, and by lots he shoulde be chosen. The lotte fell vpon a Plow-man or Carter, one *Pani* the sonne of 15 *Peniel*, and hee (notwithstanding hys ignorant basenes and base rudenes), as in a mockery, was instald in that dignity.

It is not my intent to runne a right out race through all the accidents of theyr reprobation: onely that which I lay downe is to shewe howe vnfallibly Christs wordes 20 were fulfilled, as touching theyr tenne-times merrited | desolation. Iudge all those that haue sence of misery, ere H 3 they haue occasion to vse it in discerning their own miseries, whether thys were not desolation or no. The Lord at one time visited their Citty with these foure capitall plagues, 25 Fyre, Famine, Pestilence, and the Sword. First for fire, thus he visited it: There were a thousand & foure-hundred Store-houses, filled vp to the toppe with victuall, Corne, Wine, and Oyle, sufficient to maintaine two hundred thousand men for twenty yeeres, al which by the Seditious was 30 sette on fire, and consumed in one day. Diuers gorgeous buildings they enflamed, to smoke out theyr rich owners, & many goodly streets endlongs to the very earth they encindred, for nothing but to haue more roome to bicker in.

Euery corner of *Ierusalem* had a voyce hearde in it as 35 in *Ramah*, of weeping, mourning, & great lamentation. Scarce could one friende in commoning heere another, for

2 cast out *Q*. 24 these] those *13*. 36 communing *Gro*.

the howling, wringing of hands, sobbing, & yelling of men, women, & chyldren. Heere lay they halfe dead, bayting and bathing in theyr wounds, and roaring and eare-rentingly exclayming for some melting-harted man to come and rydde them out of theyr lingring-lyuing death, and slay 5 them out-right. The sons, daughters, and seruaunts of the Elders thus vniustly massacred, went crying vp and downe the Citty like madde men, with eyes and hands to heauen extended, *Iustice, Lorde, Iustice, Lorde, iustice against the vniust depriuers of our friendes and maintainers.* 10

This was the Seditious order, that if there were anie man noted to be of more wealth then other, hym they pickt a quarrell against, and accused of treason to theyr Sanctuarie, and sending Letters to the Romaines. False witnesses they H 3v had in pay a Campe royal. *Schimeon* wold | not see them 15 vnprouided in that case. Not onely he that mourned, but hee that did not seeme to reioyce at the martyrdom of those iust men, was dismist the same way. Not a few (in theyr mindes benummed with the massacrous monstrousnesse of thys quick Marshall-law) made themselues graues, 20 and went into them aliue. The channell of *Iordan* was so ouer-burdened and charged wyth dead carkasses, that the waters contended to wash theyr hands of them, and lightly leapt ouer theyr banckes, as shunning to mixe themselues with so many millions of murders: but after many dayes 25 abstinence from theyr propper entercourse, (obseruing they must liue for euer banisht from theyr bounds, except they made some riddance of them,) they recollected theyr liquid forces, and, putting all theyr wauy shoulders together, bare the whole shole of them before them, as farre as the Sea of *Sodom.* 30

Had there beene at that time a Red-sea newe to bee created, the blood (that, lyke a Ryuer from a Mountaine foote, flowed forth of *Ierusalem*) woulde haue made it rich in surges, and sufficient to wracke many Shyppes. Euen as *Iordan*, so the Brooke *Cedron*, and the waters of *Schiloim* 35 in lyke sorte were choked. As dead Cattes and dogges into Buts of Sack and Muscadine are throwne (for theyr

firie strength to feede on), so into Wells and Cesterns were dead corses (innumerable) throwne, for theyr blacke waters to feed on.

From the furie of the Sword let me discend to Famine 5 and the Pestilence, the two latter plagues of *Ierusalem*.

In gyuing them sutable phrase, had I the commaund of a thousand singular wits, I should banqroute them all in description. Plucke vppe a good courage, mine infant pen, and wearily struggle (as well as thou maist) thorow | thys H 4 10 huge word-dearthing taske.

The Store-houses burnt, the siege harde plyed, the waste of victuals great, the husbanding of them none at all, there fell such an infestuous vnsaciable famine amongst them, that if all the stones of *Ierusalem* had been bread, and they 15 should haue tyred on them, yet woulde they haue beene behind hand with their appetite. Their watry wesands were like to leape out of theyr mouthes for meate, and in theyr crawling vp to seeke passage, readie to haue beene seazd on by their iawes for sustenance. Like an ouer-20 hanging Rocke eaten in with the tyde, or Death that is nere picturd but with an vpper chap only, so did theyr propendant breast-bones imminent-ouercanopy theyr bellies.

So many men as were in *Ierusalem*, so many pale raw-bone ghosts you woulde haue thought you had seene. Euen 25 through theyr garments theyr rake-leane rybbes appeared. Theyr sharpe embossed anckle-bones turnd vppe the earth like a Plowshare, when in going theyr feete swarued. The emptie ayre they woulde catch at in steade of meate, lyke as a Spaniell catcheth at a flie; the very dust they gnasht 30 at as it flew, and their owne armes & theyr legges they hardly for-bare. Theyr teeth they would grinde one against another to a white powder like meale. The durty mosse on the pentisses of theyr houses they gnawde of most greedily. Not a weede sprung vp, but (ere it aspired 35 halfe to his growth) by them it was weeded and rauenously rauncht vp. All the bushes and boughes, within or rounde

4 *Run on in Q. New par. Gro.*

about *Ierusalem,* were hewd downe and feld, for men (like brute beastes) to brouze on.

Within tweluc myle compasse of the Cittie, where there H 4v were wont to be the most Elizianlike gardens and | flower-guilded fieldes vnder heauen, what for the Romans and them, 5 was there not now left a croppe of anie Gourde or greene thing. The Seditious and the souldiours would come running into the Cittizens houses, & taking them by the bosoms, cry aloude, Gyue vs meate, Gyue vs meate, by the Lord we will haue meate: robbe, steale, runne into the Tents of our 10 enemies for meat for vs, or wee will make meate of you and your chyldren. Mens Cellers and Garrets for meate they searcht. If there were but the bloode of any thing spylt on the grounde, like hungry dogs they woulde lick it vppe. Rats, Mise, Weasels, Scorpions, were no common mens iunckets. 15

In the beginning of thys scarcity, had any but a dish full of Corne left to send to the Mill, they were afrayd to send it, for feare they should sette all *Ierusalem* together by the eares for it. Wherfore in theyr low vnder-earth Vaultes they digd lower Caues, which couering with bordes and 20 formally pauing ouer, there they eate theyr Corne vngrounde (closely), because they would not be circumuented.

Exceeding rich *Magnificos* stole victuall one from another, and would lye in waite a whole weeke together to intercept but a chypping. The Father stole from the Sonne, 25 and oftentimes tore the meate out of his mouth; the Sonne could scarce refraine from byting out his Fathers throate-boule, when he saw him swallow downe a bitte that he dyde for. The Mother lurcht from them both; her young weaned Children (famisht for want of nourishment) fastned 30 theyr sharpe edged gums on her fingers, and would not let them goe till shee pluckt the morsell out of her owne mawe to put into theyrs. Hee that then had had a Kingdom would haue gyuen it for a crust of breade. |

I 1 Not a Butterflie, Grashopper, Worme, Neuette, or 35 Cancker, but was persecuted and sought out to satis-fie emptines. You should haue seene a hundred together,

fighting and scrambling about a dead Horse. Sometimes they would send theyr chyldren farre out of the Cittie, to gather rootes and herbes, thinking that the Romains carried more honourable mindes then to execute theyr vtmost on
5 them: but all was one, for they spared neither young nor olde. Many Noble-men eate the Leather of theyr Chariots as they ridde. *Miriam*, a Matron of great port, and of a high lynage discended, (hauing her receipt of disgestion almost closed vp with fasting,) after shee had sustained her
10 lyfe a large space by scraping in chaffe and muck-hils for beastes dung, and, that meanes forsaking her, she had no other refuge of fosterment, she was constrained (for her liues supportance), hauing but one onely sonne, to kill him and rost him.

15 Mothers of LONDON, (each one of you to your selues) doe but imagine that you were *Miriam*, wyth what hart (suppose you) could ye go about the cooquerie of your own chyldren? Not hate, but hunger, taught *Miriam* to forgette mother-hood. To this purport conceite her dis-
20 coursing with herselfe.

It is better to make a Sepulcher for him in mine owne' body, then leaue him to be lickt vp by ouer-goers feete in' the streete. The wrath of GOD is kindled in euery' corner of the Citty; Famine hath sworne to leaue no'
25 breathing thing in her walls; without the walls the Sworde' more vsurpeth then Famine. Our enemies are mercilesse,' for wee haue no eyes to see our owne miserie. Not they' alone besiege vs, but our sinnes also. Fyre and Famine' afflict vs. We haue where-withal to feede Fyre and'
30 Famine, but not wher-with to feed our selues | and our' I 1v chyldren. My sonne, my sonne, I cannot relieue thee;' I haue Gold and Siluer to giue thee, but not a paring of' any repast to preserue thee. My sonne, my son, why' should I not kill Famine by killing thee, ere Famine, in'
35 excruciating thee, kill mee? O my deere Babe, had I in' euery limbe of mee a seuerall life, so many lyues as I haue'

7–8 of high *13*. 28 sinnes] sonnes *Gro*.

'lymbes to Death wold I resigne, to saue thine one life.
'Saue thee I may not, though I should giue my soule for
'thee. The greatest debt I haue bounde thee to mee with,
'is by bearing thee in my wombe: Ile bind thee to me
'againe, in my wombe Ile beare thee againe, and there bury 5
'thee ere Famine shall confounde thee. I will vnswathe thy
'breast with my sharpe knyfe, and breake ope the bone-
'walled pryson where thy poore hart is lockt vp to be
'pyned; Those Chaynes and Mannacles of corruptiue bowels
'(where-with thy soule is now fettered) will I free it from. 10
'I will lende Death a false key to enter into the closet of
'thy breast.

' Euen as amongst the *Indians* there is a certaine people,
'that when any of their Kins-folkes are sicke, saue charges
'of phisicke, and rather resolue (vnnaturally) to eate them 15
'vppe, then day-diuersifying Agues or blood-boyling
'surfets should fit-meale feede on them; so do I resolue,
'rather to eate thee vp, my sonne, and feed on thy flesh
'royallie, then inward emperishing Famine shoulde too
'vntimely inage thee. Woulde God, as the men of *Ephraim* 20
'were not able distinctly to pronounce *Shibboleth*, so I could
'not distinctly pronounce this sweet name of *My sonne*: it
'is too sweet a name to come in slaughters mouth. Though
'*Dauid* sung of mercy and iudgement together, yet cannot
'I sing of cruelty and compassion together; remember 25
'I am a Mother, and play the murdresse, both at once.
I 2 'O, therfore in my words doe I striue | to be tyrannous,
'that I may bee the better able to enact with my hands.
'Sildome or neuer is there any that doth ill, but speakes ill
'first. The tongue is the encouraging Captaine, that (with 30
'daunger-glorifying perswasion) animates al the other cor-
'poreall parts to be ventrous. He is the Iudge that doomes
'& determines; the rest of our faculties and powers are but
'the secular executioners of his sentence. Be prest, myne
'hands, (as Iayle-garding officers) to see executed whatsoeuer 35
'your superior tong-slaying Iudge shall decree. Embrawne
'your soft-skind enclosure with Adamantine dust, that it

may drawe nothing but steele vnto it. Arme your selues ' against my sonne, not as my sonne, but my bedde-inter- ' cepting Bastard, begotten of some strumpet. My hart ' shall receiue an iniunction imaginarily to disinherite him. '
5 No relenting thought of mine shall retraite you with re- ' pentant affectionate humors. '

I will blood-shot myne eyes, that all may seeme san- ' guine they looke on. Some deade man that is alreadie ' slaine, Ile anatomize and embowel, the more to flesh my '
10 fingers in butchering. Ratifide it is (bad-fated *Saturnine* ' boy) that thou must be *Anthropophagiz'd* by thyne owne ' Mother. Thou wert once the chiefe pyller of my posterity ' and the whole reliance of my name: Well I hoped thou ' shouldst haue reuiued and new grafted thy Fathers fame; '
15 I expected *Ierusalem* shoulde haue had a strong proppe of ' thee. And if at any time it were warre-threatned, thy ' right arme should haue retranquilliz'd & reioyc't it: that ' the young-men in their merry-running Madrigals and ' sportiue Base-bidding Roundelayes, for thee should haue '
20 honoured mee: That the Virgins on theyr loude tinternel- ' ling Timbrils, and *Ballad-singing daunces, should haue ' descanted on my prayses. | '

*A Ballad in French is any song that is sunge dauncing.

I 2v

Myne age of thee expected all life-expedient necessaries. ' My sight put not on yeeres-dimnesse so soone as it would '
25 haue done, onely trusting thou shouldst scale it vppe ' when Death had dusked it. My beauty-creasing cares ' and frowne-imitating wrinkles were wholy buried in the ' monumentall graue which I (misdeeming) deemed thy ' sword might digge me. All these my ayrie-bodied expec- '
30 tations Famine hath dispersed. I must inter thee, thou ' canst not entombe mee. Thy little soule to Heauen must ' be sent, to intelligence the calamity of *Ierusalem*: God will ' haue pitty of thee, and (perhaps) pittie *Ierusalem* for thee. ' He surely wil melt in remorse, and wither vppe the hand of '
35 hys wrath, when in his eares it shall be clamored, how the ' *desolation* hee hath layde on *Ierusalem* hath compelled a '

5 retraite] retaine *13*. 19 Roundelayes for thee, *Q*. 30 inter] enter *13*.

'tender-starued Mother to kill and eate her onely sonne.
'And yet his owne onely chyld, *Christ Iesus,* (as deerē to
'him as thou to mee, my sonne) he sent into the World to
'be crucified.
' O sorrowe-conceiuing Mothers, looke to haue all your 5
'children crucified, to haue none of them remitted, since our
'Husbands haue beene so hardy to lay harmfull hands on
'the Lord of lyfe. Can GOD be more griefe-yeelding with
'the losse and life-famishing of our innocent chyldren, then
'he was at the giuing vp of his owne onely Sonne? That 10
'one deadly deede hath obdurated him, and made him a
'hard God to all Mothers. Famine, the Lord hath sent
'thee to heape a seconde curse vppon Mothers. Neuer
'shall it be sayd thou tookst from mee my Sonne, his fathers
'Fauchion shall sende him to sleepe with his Fathers. 15
'Neither shall his death be recorded as my crime in Heauens
'Iudgement-booke, when I but onely ridde him (that is as
'good as dead alreadie) out of the tedious payne of dying. |
I 3 ' I haue no meate, my sonne, to bring thee vp with. I
'haue no eares to giue idle passage to the playnts of thy 20
'pyning. The enemies without and within shall diuide thy
'bloods-guilt betwixt them. Amongst the rablement shalt
'thou not miscarrie: Ile beare thee in my bosome to
'Paradise. Thy tombe shall be my stomack, with thy flesh
'will I feast mee. This shall be all the chyldes trybute I 25
'will require of thee, for the sixe yeeres lyfe I haue
'gyuen thee, to cherrish mee but sixe dayes, and rather
'then Famine should consume mee, to consume thy selfe
'in my sustenaunce. The fore-skinne of originall sinne
'shalt thou cleane circumcise, by this one act of piety. 30
'Returne into me, and see the Mould wherein thou wert
'cast. As much payne in thy conception endured I for
'thee, as I will put thee to in thy departure. By nature
'we all desire to returne to the soile from whence we came:
'wert thou of age to pleade thine owne desires, I know they 35
'would be accordant with mine. I am thy Mother and
'must desire for thee: I loue thee more then thou canst

thy selfe; therefore cannot my desires endamage thee. '
Into the Garden of *Eden* I will leade thee; but one '
gappe broke ope, thy entrance is made. More shalt thou '
terrifie the Seditious by the constraintment of thy quarter- '
5 ing, then if *Iehouah* out of a clowde should speake to them. '
Tis not thou, but I, shall be counted opprobrius. Loe, '
there goes the woman, shall they say, that hath slyced & '
eaten her owne sonne. I am content to vndergoe any '
shame to abash and rebuke their faces. Sword, howe euer '
10 I haue flatterd thee, looke for no direction from myne '
eyes: for though with my hands I out-rage, with mine '
eyes I cannot. Myne eyes are womanish, my hands are '
manly. Myne eyes will shed teares in steade of shedding '
blood: they will regard pittifull lookes, the whyte | skin, ' I 3v
15 the comlie proportion, the tender youth, the quiet lying '
like a Lambe; my hand beholdeth none of these: and yet '
it is my right hand, which should doe euery one right, '
much more mine owne childe. Right will I doe thee (noble '
infant) in righting thee from the wrongs of Famine. Nere '
20 shall the Romains haue thee for theyr Warde. Thus, thus '
(like blind-fold Fortune) I right thee, myne eyes being vailed. '

At one stroke (euen as these words were in speaking) she
beheaded him, and when she had done, turning the Apron
from of her own face on his, that the sight might not
25 afreshly distemper her, without seeing, speaking, deliberat-
ing, or almost thinking any more of him, she sod, rost, and
powdred him; and hauing eaten as much as suffised, sette
vp the rest.

The Sedicious smelling the sauour of a feast (which at
30 that time was no ordinary matter in *Ierusalem*), roughlie (in
heapes) rusht & burst into the house, saying: wicked woman,
thou hast meate, and traiterously concealest it from vs:
we'le teare thee in peeces if thou settes not part of it before vs.

With some few words of excuse, before them what she
35 had she brought, entertayning them in these or like termes.

Eate, I pray you, heere is good meate, be not afrayd, it is '

27 eate *13*. 34-5 what she had brought *13*.

'flesh of my flesh, I bare it, I nurst it, I suckled it. Loe,
'heere is the head, the handes, and the feete. It was myne
'owne onely sonne, I tell you. Sweet was he to mee in his
'life, but neuer so sweet as in his death. Beholde his pale
'perboyld visage, how pretie-pitteous it lookes. His pure 5
'snow-moulded soft fleshe will melt of it selfe in your
'mouthes: who can abstaine from these two round teat-like
'cheeks? Be not dainty to cut them vp; the rest of his |
I 4 'body haue I cutte vp to your hands.

' Crauens, cowards, recreants, sitte you mute & amazed? 10
'Neuer entred you into consideration of your crueltie before?
'It is you that haue robd me of all my food, & so conse-
'quently robd me of my onely son. Vengeance on your
'soules and all the discending generations of the seede of
'your Trybes, for thus mirrouring mee for the Monarch- 15
'monster of Mothers. No Chronicle that shal write of
'*Ierusalems* last captiuitie, but shall write of mee also. Not
'any shal talke of Gods iudgement on this Cittie, but, for
'the cardinall iudgement against it, shall recite myne enforce-
'ment to eate mine owne chyld. I am a woman, and haue kild 20
'him and eate of him. My womanish stomack hath serued
'me to that which your man-like stomacks are dastarded
'with. What I haue doone, you haue driuen me to doe:
'what you haue driuen me to do, now beeing doone you are
'daunted with. Eate of my sonne one morsel yet, that it 25
'may memorize against you, ye are accessary to his dis-
'membring. Let that morsell be his hart if you will, that
'the greater may be your conuictment.

' Men of warre you are, who make no conscience of tear-
'ing out any mans hart for a morsell of bread. Most valiant 30
'Captaines, why for-beare you? is not heere your owne diet,
'humaine blood? Heere is my sonnes breast, peirce it once
'againe, for once you haue peirst it with Famine. Are not
'you they that spoyled my house, and left me no kind of
'cherishment for me & my sonne? Feede on that you haue 35
'slaine, & spare not. O my sonne, ô myne onely sonne, these
'Sedicious are the deuils that directed the sword against

thy throate. They, with their armed hands, haue crammed '
thy flesh into my pallate. Now poyson them with thy '
flesh, for it is they that haue | supplanted thee. Renowned ' I 4v
is thyne end, for in *Ierusalem* is none hath resisted Famine '
5 but thou. Me thou hast fedde, thy selfe thou hast freed. '
Tis thou onely that at the latter day shalt condemne these '
Seditious. Excuse mee, that onely what I could not chuse '
committed. I did all for the best. The best remedy of '
thyne vnrepriueable peruerse destiny was death: therefore '
10 I deuourd thee, that foules of the ayre might not rent thee. '
For sauce to thy flesh haue I infused my teares: who so '
dippeth in them shall taste of my sorrow. '

The Rebels hearing this, were wholy metamorphizd into
mellancholie; yea, the Chiefe-taines of them were ouer-
15 clowded in conceite. Was neuer till this euer heard from
Adam, that a woman eate her owne Childe. Was neuer such
a *desolation* as the *desolation* of *Ierusalem*.

As touching the Pestilence, some short peroration is now
to succeede. Of it there dyed more then a hundred thousand
20 during the time of the siege. Out of the least gate of
Ierusalem (which was that towards the Brooke *Cedron*),
were carried foorth to buriall a hundred fyfteene thousand,
a hundred and eyght persons; all which were of the Nobles,
Gentlemen, and substantialest men of the Iewes. Many
25 fledde to *Titus*, who when they came to meate, coulde eate
none of it, but died with the very sight thereof. Of those
that fledde, a great number swallowed vp theyr Gold and
their Iewels, which (beeing cleerely escaped) they sought
amongst theyr excrements. But when by the *Aramites* and
30 *Arabians* (*Titus* mercenary souldiers) it was perceiued, they
slewe them out-right, and ript theyr bowels for theyr golde,
and so left them to the Eagles and Rauens. Two thousand
by thys couetise slept theyr last. The Princes of the Iewes |
(which *Titus* as submissioners and succoursuers had receiued K 1
35 to mercy) he straightly examined on theyr allegeance and
fidelity, how many were dead in the Cittie since he first

7–8 chuse [I haue] committed *Gro.* 34 succour-suers *13.*

beleagured it; & the number was giuen vp, (namely of such as were carried forth at all gates to bee buried, & were slaine in battaile,) seauen hundred thousand, fiue hundred, seauenty & fiue, besides many thousands that in the streetes and Temple lay vnburied, and were cast downe into the 5 Brooke *Cedron*. The whole bil (when the siege was concluded) came to eleuen hundred thousande, all which in foureteene monthes misfortuned.

Sixteene thousande *Titus* ledde prysoners to Rome (those omitted which vnder *Eleazers* conduct perrished). The 10 *Sanctum sanctorum* was sette on fire, and the Priestes therein smothered. All the antique buildings were burnt and beaten downe. Of *Dauid*, *Salomon*, or the olde Kings of Israell, was there no Trophy remayning, no stone but discituate. *Ierusalem* was left, not as *Ierusalem* but a naked plot 15 of ground; And as it was said of *Priams* Towne, *Iam seges est, vbi Troia fuit*, nowe is that a Corne-fielde, that was erst called *Troy*; so that is now a Mount of stones, that in yeeres past was intituled *Ierusalem*.

O *Ierusalem*, *Ierusalem*, what shall I say to thee more but 20 Christ fore-told *thy house shoulde be left desolate vnto thee*, and loe, as he fore-told it is falne out?

Of all thy gates that were plated ouer with siluer, is there not so much as one nayle remayning. Thy streets were paued with Marble, and thy houses ietted out with 25 Iaphy and Cedar; that pauement, those houses, thy habitation (like dust engrauen Letters) is quite abrased and plowed K 1v vppe. Thyne enemies on thy Sanctuary tooke | compassion (beholding the glory of it), thou took'st none. *Titus* (an Infidell) vnderstanding the multitude of thy prophana- 30 tions and contumacies, was afraid (hauing entred thee) to stay in thee, saying: *Let vs hence, least theyr sinnes destroy vs.* Nothing thou fearedst: in olde-Wiues fables thou beleeuedst: with Th'almudisticall dreames (that thy Temple after her destruction shoulde be built vp in a day) thy selfe 35 thou deludest. And wheras thou hadst a Prophecie that thy Sanctuary should not be prostituted til out of thy

quarters sprung a Monarche of the whole Earth, thou wert blinded, & wantedst the sence in *Vespasian* to picke out his expletement. For hee, comming into *Iudea* but as a subiected Generall to the Romaine Empire, by his own 5 souldiers (against his wil) was there consecrated Emperour: and so out of thy dominions or quarters departed he, leauing his sonne *Titus* behind him to sack thee.

See with howe many deceits thou art circumuented, for calling Christ a circumuenter and deceiuer. For *stoning* Math. 10 *him and his Prophets*, and vsing such great iniustice to 27. 25. S. *Iames* (his cosin according to the flesh), *Iosephus* & *Eusebius* agree al those plagues were laid vpon thee. But to the imprecation ascribe I it rather, where-with, when *Pilate* washed his handes, thou cursedst thy selfe, saying: *His* 15 *blood be vpon vs and our chyldren*. In humaine policie another cause I coniecture. Thou lets *Eleazar*, a priuate man, take the sword of thy freedome into his hands vnauthorized; Thou sufferedst him (vnpunished) to resist the Romaine Prouinciall *Florus*. Ill didst thou therein, for in 20 gouernment (though it be to resist publique violence) it is not safe to suffer a priuate man to vnder-take Armes as generall. The reasons heereafter I wil open in some other dyscourse treating wholy of those matters. |

The chiefe reason of thy confusion was the ripenes of thy K 2 25 sinnes, which were seeded for want of Gods putting his sicle into them. *Ierusalem*, if I were to describe Hell, some part of thy *desolations* description woulde I borrow, to make it more horrorsome. Eleuen hundred thousand, for these few words *but thou wouldst not*, most wretchedly lost theyr liues. 30 If but one lyne (*thy house shall be left desolate vnto thee*) included all this, what doth the whole Scripture include? Not a peece of a lyne in it that talkes of the Lake of fire and Brimstone, but by a hundred thousand parts more importeth. It is a quiuer of short Arrowes, which neuer 35 shewe theyr length till they be full shotte out, a ball of Wild-fire round wrapt vp together, which burneth not but

3 explement *93, 94. Corr. in Errata.* 27 *desolation 13.*

cast fooorth, a close winded clue, conducting those that deale vnaduisedlie with it, into the Minotaurs Laborinth of payne-euerlasting.

I would wish no man to be too milde in expounding it. It hath more edges to smyte with then it shewes. It is 5 not selie in operation, though it be simple in apparance. *Ierusalem*, not all thy seauenty *Esdrean* Cabalizers, who traditionately from *Moyses* receiued the Lawes interpretation, could euer rightly teach thee to diuine of the crucified *Messias*. The Scripture thou madest a too-to compounde 10 Cabalisticall substaunce of, by canonizing such a multifarious Genealogie of Comments.

HEtherto stretcheth the prosecution of thy *desolation*. Now to *London* must I turne me, *London* that turneth from none of thy left-hand impieties. As great 15 a *desolation* as *Ierusalem*, hath *London* deserued. Whatsoeuer of *Ierusalem* I haue written, was but to lend her a K 2v Looking-glasse. Now enter I into my true | Teares, my Teares for *London*, wherein I craue pardon though I deale more searchingly then common Soule-Surgions accustome; 20 for in this Booke, wholy haue I bequeathed my penne and my spyrite to the prosternating and enforrowing the frontiers of sinne. So let it be acceptable to God and his Church what I write, as no man in thys Treatise I will particulerly tutch, none I will semouedly allude to, but onely attaint 25 vice in generall.

Pride shall be my principall ayme, which in *London* hath platformed another Sky-vndersetting Tower of *Babell*. *Ionathan* shotte fiue Arrowes beyond the marke; I feare I shall 1. Kin. 19. 22. shoote fifteene Arrowes behind the mark, in describing thys 30 hie-towring sinne.

O Pryde, of all Heauen-relapsing premunires the most fearefull; thou that ere this hast disparradiz'd our first Parent *Adam*, and vnrightuouzd the very Angels, how shall I arme myne elocution, to breake through the rankes of thy 35

18 enter I] I enter *13*.

hily stumbling blocks. After the destruction of *Antwerpe*, thoū (beeing thrust out of house and home, and not knowing whither to betake thee) at hap hazard embarkedst for *England*. Where hearing riche *London* was the full-streamed 5 wel-head, vnto it thou hastedst, & there hast dwelt many yeeres, begetting Sonnes and Daughters. Thy sonnes names are these, Ambition, Vaine-glory, Atheisme, Discontent, Contention. Thy Daughters, Disdaine, Gorgeous-attyre, and Delicacie. O had *Antwerpe* stil florished, that 10 thou hadst nere come hether to mis-fashion vs, or that there were any Cittie would take thy Chyldren to halfes with vs!

Thy first Sonne, Ambition, is waxt a great Courtier, and maketh him wings of his long Furies hayre, to flye vp to Heauen with: hee hath a throne raysed vp vnder | his K 3 15 heeles in euery startup he treades on. Hys backe bandieth colours with the Sunne. The ground he thinketh extreamely honoured and beholding to hym, if he blesse it but with one humble looke; Nothing he talks on but kentalls of Pearle, the conquering of *India*, and fishing for 20 Kingdomes. Fame hee makes his God, and mens mouthes the limits of hys conscience. So many greater as there are then himselfe, so many grieues he hath. The deuill may commaunde all hys hart and soule, if hee will rydde hym but of one riuall. He that but crosseth hym in the course of his 25 ascention, cyther kylleth hym outright (if he be aboue hys reach), or is sure (kill hee not first) in the end to be kyld by him.

Poore men he lookes shold part with all their goods to haue him but take knowledge of them; He seekes to gette 30 hym a maiestie in his frowne, and doe some thing to seeme terrible to the multitude. Euen curtesie and humility he peruerteth to pryde, where hee cannot otherwise pray. Hath no chyld of Pryde so many Disciples as thys tiptoe Ambition. Why cal I him Ambition, when he hath 35 changed his name vnto honor? I meane not the honour of

1 hily] *Gro.*: bily *Q.* 2 () *before* thou *93, 94*: *om. 13.* 14 hys *c.w.*
21 limite *13.* 26 to kild *13.*

the fielde (Ambitions onely enemy), which I could wish might be euer and onely honourable, but Brokerly blowne vp honour, honour by antick fawning fidled vp, honour bestowed for damned deserts.

Of thys kind of honour is thys Elfe (we call Ambition) 5 compacted. Yet wil I not say, but euen in the highest, noblest byrth, and honourablest glory of Armes, there may be Ambition. *Dauid* was ambitious when hee caused the people to be numbred. *Nabuchadnezer* eate grasse for hys ambition. *Herod* was ambitious when in angelicall 10 apparraile he spoke to the people. The truest image of K 3v thys kind of ambition was *Absalom.* | *Iulius Cæsar* amongst the *Ethnicks* surmounted, who when he had conquerd Gallia, Belgia, thys our poore Albion, and the better part of Europe, and vpon his returne to Rome was crowned Em- 15 perour, in the heigth of his prosperity, he sent men skild in Geometry to measure the whole world, that whereas he intended to conquer it all, he might know howe long he should be in ouer-running it. Letters had they directed to all Presidents, Consuls, Dukes, Palatines, Tetrarchs, & 20 Iudges of Prouinces to assist them and safeconduct them. Their Commission was not onely to measure the earth, but the waters, the woods, the Seas, the shores, the valleyes, the hills, and the Mountaines. In this discouery 30. yeeres were spent, from his Consulshyp to the Consulshyp of *Saturninus*, 25 when godwote, poore man, twenty yeeres good before they returned, he was all to bepoynyarded in the Senate house, and had the dust of his bones in a Brasen vrne (no bigger then a boule) barreld vp, whom (if he had lyued) all the Sea and Earth and ayre woulde haue beene to little for. 30

Let the ambitious man stretch out thys lymbes neuer so, he taketh vp no more ground (being dead) then the Begger. *London*, of many ambitious busie heades hast thou beheld the rysing and downe falling. In thy stately Schoole are

2 honourably *13.* 12 *Iulius . . .*] *Line not set in, but preceding line not full 93, 94. New par. 13.* 14 *Gallia, Belgia, . . . Albion 13.* 19 Letters . . .] *New par. Gro.* 25 *Saturnius 13.*

they first tutord in theyr Arte. With example thou first exaltest them, and still still liftes them vp, till thou hast lifted vp theyr heads on thy gates.

What a thing is the hart of man, that it should swell so
5 bigge as the whole world. *Alexander* was but a lyttle man, yet if there had beene a hundred Worlds to conquer, hys hart would haue comprised them. Dyd men consider whereof they were made, and that the dust was theyr great Grand-mother, they would be more humi-|liate and K 4
10 deiected; Of a britler mettall then Glasse is this we call Ambition made, and to mischaunces more subiect. Glasse with good vsage may be kept and continue many ages. The dayes of man are numbred, threescore and tenne is his terme; if he lyue any longer, it is but labour and
15 sorrow.

Glasse feareth not sicknes nor old age, it gathereth no wrinkles with standing. It hath not so many that scoute and lye in waite for his end as Ambition: for hee (as all man-kind) is continually liable to a myllion of mischances,
20 besides a legion of diseases lingering about him. Admitte none of those meete with him, Tyme with his Sicle wil be sure not to misse hym. A man may scape a sicknesse, a blow, a fal, a Wild-beast; he cannot escape his last destiny. Externall daungers (such as these be) euery one is circum-
25 spect and careful to auoide; Not any one ponders in his thought, howe to auoyde the death that growes inward.

From the rich to the poore (in euery street in *London*) there is ambition, or swelling aboue theyr states: the rich Cittizen swells against the pryde of the prodigall Courtier;
30 the prodigal Courtier swels against the welth of the Cittizen. One Company swells against another, and seekes to intercept the gaine of each other: nay, not any Company but is deuided in it selfe. The auncients, they oppose themselues against the younger, & suppresse them and keepe them
35 downe all that they may. The young men, they call them dotards, & swel and rage, and with many othes sweare on

2 and stil lifts *13*.

the other side, they will not be kept vnder by such cullions, but goe good and neere to out-shoulder them.

Amongst theyr Wiues is lyke warre. Well did *Aristotle*, K 4v in the second of Phisickes, call sinnes Monsters of | nature, for as there is no Monster ordinarily reputed, but is a 5 swelling or excesse of forme, so is there no sinne but is a swelling or rebelling against God. *Sinne* (sayth *Augustine*) *is eyther thought, worde, or deede, opposite to the eternall will of God.* Then if all sinnes be opposing themselues against God, surely ambition (which is part of the 10 deuils sinne) cannot but be the cherrishing of open enmitie against God: and so immediate I conclude, that so many ambitious men as are amongst vs, so manie open enemies God hath.

Ambition is any puft vp greedy humour of honor or 15 preferment. No puffing or swelling vp in any mans bodie but is a sore; when the soule doth swell with ambition, both soule and bodie (without timely phisick of repentaunce) will smart full sore for it. Humilitie was so hard a vertue to beate into our heades, that Christ purposely came downe 20 from heauen in hys owne person to teach it vs, and continued thirty yeeres together, nothing but preaching and practising it heere vppon earth. The foolish things of the 1. Cor. 3. world (saith *Paule*) God chuseth, and not the hauty or ambitious in conceite. God myght haue chosen Kings 25 and Emperours, or the Scribes and Pharisies, to be his Disciples, but foolish Fisher-men hee chose.

In worldly policy he vsed a foolish course to win credite to his doctrine: but foolish is the worldly policie that onely from the deuill borrowes his instance. Christ chose them 30 whom the deuill scorned to looke so lowe as to tempt, in whose harts he had not yet layd one stone of his building. They were the onely fit men to receiue the impression of hys Spirite. Whether it be a blessing or no giuen to all Fishermen (for the Apostles sakes), I know not, but surely there 35 L 1 is no one trade (in theyr vo-|cation) lyues so faythfully &

5 but in a *13*.

painfully as Fishermen, that in theyr apparraile or dyet lesse exceede. He that should haue told the deuill, Christ would cast his nets amongst Fisher-men, he would haue laught him out of his coate for a cockscombe. What reason, what 5 likelihoode was there? was he borne in a Fisher-towne? was he allied either by the Father or the Mother to Fisher-men? Nay, how should hee come almost in all hys life to heare of a Fisher-man? Tush, tush, hee wyll bee altogether in the Temple amongst the Doctors, the High-priestes, and 10 the Elders: them will I ply and way-laie against him.

To theyr vnbeliefe I wyll lende arguments. They haue the seedes of ambition rooted in theyr harts alreadie. I will put in theyr heads, that hee commeth to destroy theyr Law and theyr Temple, and turne them all out of theyr 15 stately chayres of authority: and thys (I thinke) will tickle them thorowly against him.

Simple deuill, Christ deceiued thee, and onely in thys he deceiued thee, that thou imaginedst hys pryde & ambition to be like thine, and neuer lookst for him amongst Net-20 menders. I dare sweare for thee, thou wouldst haue sooner sought for hym amongst Carpenters. But when thou foundst how thou wert ouer-reacht, I think thou rann'st to them (from one to another) with cap in hand, to request them to betray hym. And euery one shakt thee of 25 churlishlie but *Iudas*, and on hym hadst thou not had power, but that he carried the purse. It is a harde thing for hym that carries the purse, (that hath money and golde at commaunde,) not to be mou'd with ambition.

Peter, *Iames*, and *Iohn*, had you beene any thing but 30 beggerly Fisher-men, and that you had euer lyu'd but a hungerd and colde by the Sea-side, or once come into | the great Townes where Ambition sits in her Maiestie, and L 1v bewitcheth all eyes, (before Christ met with you) the deuill had caught hold of you. For your sakes all other of your 35 profession shall fare the worse. Beware, Fisher-men, the deuill owes you an old grudge, hee takes you for daungerous men. Till your predecessours, the Apostles, so went beyond

hym, he neuer suspected you, he neuer tempted you: now hee will sooner tempt you, and bee more busie about you, then Kings and Emperours.

Those that will shunne ambition, (for which the wrath of GOD hangeth heauy ouer thys our Citty,) must with-drawe 5 theyr eyes from vanities, haue something still to put them in minde whereof they are made, and whether they must. My young nouice (what euer thou be) not yet crept out of the shell, I say vnto thee as the Prophet sayd to the King of Israell, *Caue ne cas in locum illum, nam ibi insidiæ sunt:* 10 Beware thou comst not in that place, for there thou art besette; So beware thou comst not to the Courte, or to *London*, for there thou shalt be besette. Besette with ambition, besette with vanitie, besette with all the sinnes that may be. The way to know Ambition when it inuades 15 thee, is to obserue and watch thy selfe when thou first fallest into a selfe-loue: if selfe-loue hath seazd on thee, she wil stand on no meane tearmes, nor bee content to lyue as a common drudge. None (in any case) must stande in her light, the Sun must shyne on none but her. What- 20 soeuer a man naturallie desires is Ambition. *Quod habere non vis est valde bonum, quod esse non vis hoc est bonum.* There is nothing is not Ambition, but that which a man woulde not haue, or would not be. *Hauing foode and clothing*, (as *Paul* willeth vs) *let vs be content:* what more 25 we require to content, is | Ambition. What more then the contented blessed state of an Angell the deuill gapt after, was that which cast him out of Heauen. Wee are sent in warfare into this world, to beare Armes and fight it out with the deuils chiefe Basso, Ambition. Vnder Christs 30 standard wee marche, he is our Leader; small is his Armie, and but a handfull in comparison of the others; hys outwarde pompe simple, hys prouision (in sight) slender or none at all.

4. Kings, 6.

1. Tim. 6.

L 2

If vpon these considerations (as distrusting his proui- 35 dence) we shall grow in mislike with him, and reuolt to

[1] 4. Kings, 6.] *om.* 13.

Ambition, his enemy, and betray him, shal we euer looke him in the face more, or wil hee euer after acknowledge vs? O no, not only he shal forsake vs, but that rich brauing Basso, Ambition; (lyke a wise Prince that will trust no 5 Traytours). As soone as euer they are come neere hym, downe the hyll they climbed vp to him shall hee headlong reuerse them.

Euen in thys dilatement against Ambition, the deuill seekes to sette in a foote of affected applause and popular 10 fames Ambition in my stile, so as hee incited a number of Phylosophers (in times past) to prosecute theyr ambition of glory in writing of glories contemptiblenesse. I resist it and abhorre it: if any thing be here penned that may peirce or profite, heauenly Christ (not I) haue the prayse. 15 *London*, looke to Ambition, or it will lay thee desolate like *Ierusalem*. Onely the ambitious shaking of the yoke of the Romains was the bane of *Ierusalem*. The dust in the streets (being come of the same house that we are of, and seeing vs so proud and ambitious) thinks with her selfe, why 20 should not shee that is discended as well as we, rayse vp her plumes as wee doe. And thats the reason shee borrowes the winges of the | winde so oft to mount into the ayre; and 2v many times she dasheth herselfe in our eyes, as who should say, Are you my Kinsmen and will not know me? O what 25 is it to bee Ambitious, when the dust of the streete (when it pleaseth her) can be Ambitious?

The Iewes euer when they mourned, rent their garments, as it were to take reuenge on them for making them proude and Ambitious, and keeping them all the while from the 30 sight of theyr nakednesse. Then they put on Sack-cloth, and that Sack-cloth they sprinckled ouer with dust, and ouer-whelmed with ashes, to put God in minde that if he shold arme his displeasure against them, he should but contend with dust & ashes; and what glorie or prayse 35 could they afford hym? *Shall the dust prayse thee* (sayth *Dauid*), *or those that goe downe to the pit glorifie thee?*

16 shaking off the *13*. 22 wind *c.w.* 23 should] would *13*.

Besides, it signified that, whereas they had lyfted themselues aboue theyr creation, and forgot by whom and of what they were made, nowe they repented & returned to theyr first image; In all prostrate humility they confest, that the breath of the Lord (as easie as the wind disperseth dust) 5 might disperse them, and bring them to nothing. Dyd Ambition afford vs any content, or were it ought but a desire of disquiet, it were some-what.

O *Augustine*, nowe I call to minde the tale of thy conuersion, in the sixth Chapter of thy sixth booke of 10 Confessions, where describing thy selfe to be a young man puft vppe with the Ambition of that tyme, thou wert chosen to make an Oration before the Emperour, in which (hauing toyled thy wits to theyr highest wrest) thou thought'st to haue purchast Heauen and immortality. 15

Comming to pronounce it, thy tongue (like *Orpheus* L 3 stringes) drew all eares vnto it: the Emperour thou ex-|ceedingly pleasedst, because thou exceedingly & hyperbolically praisedst. Admiration encompast thee, & commendation stroue to be as eloquent as thou in thy commendation. 20 But what was all this to the purpose? the Bladder was burst that had so long swelled, winde thou spents, and nought but wind thou gainedst. For good words, good wordes were returned thee: like one that gaue *Augustus* Greeke verses, and he for his reward gaue him Greeke verses againe. The 25 heauen thou dreamedst of, being attained, seemed so inferiour to thy hopes that it cast thee headlong into hell: Home againe (in a melancholy) with thy companions thou returnedst, where by the way in a greene Meddow, thou espyedst a poore drunken Begger (his belly beeing full) 30 heyghing, leaping, and dauncing, fetching strange youthfull friskes, & taking care for nothing. With that thou sighedst, and entredst into thys discourse with thy companions.

O what is Ambition, that it shold not yeeld so much content as beggery? Miserable is that life where none is happy 35 but the miserable. Trauel & care for wealth, riches, and

12 tyme: thou *93, 94*.

honor, is but care & trauel for trauel and care. Mad and foolish are we, who watch and studie howe to vexe our selues, and in hunting after a vaine shadowe of felicitie, hunt and start vp more and more causes of perplexity. 5 This Begger hath not burnt candles al night a month together as I haue done, hee hath made no Oration to the Emperor to day, and yet hee is merry: I that haue poor'd out myne eyes vpon bookes, & wel-nie spit out al my braine at my tongues end this morning, am dumpish, drousy, & 10 wish my selfe dead: and yet if any man should aske mee if I woulde willingly die, or exchange my state with this Begger, I feare I shold hardly condiscend. Such is my ambition, such is my foolish delight in my vnrest. |

Hee hauing but a little money, and a fewe dung-hill rags L 3v 15 clouted together on hys backe, hath true content: I (with many grieuous hart-breakings and painful complots) haue layd to ouer-take it, and cannot. Hee is iocund, I am ioylesse: hee secure, I fearefull. There is no learning or Arte leading to true felicity, but the Arte of beggery. 20 Vngratefull knowledge, that for all the bodie-wasting industry I haue vsed in thy compasment, hast not blest me so much as thys Begger. I hauing thee, hee wanting thee is preferred in harts-ease before mee. No delight or harts-ease receiued I from thee, for I haue spoke not to teach, 25 but to please. Vild double-fac't Oratory, that art good for nothing but to fatten sinne wyth thy flattery, that callest it giuing immortality, when thou magnifiest vices for vertues, and challengest great deserts of Kings and nobility for dissembling: heere I renounce thee as the Parasite of Artes, 30 the whorish painter of imperfections, and onely Patronesse of sinne.

To this scope (reuerend *Augustine*) tended thy plaintiue speech, though I haue not exprest it in the same words: but the operation in thee it brought forth was, that from 35 the meditation of beggerly content, thou wadedst (by degrees) into the depth of the true heauenlie content. O singuler

11 this] the *13*. 16 many] my *13*.

worke contriued by weake meanes. O rarely honoured beggery, to be the instrument of recalling so rich a soule. O faithlesse and peruerse generation (sayth Christ vnto vs, as he said to the Iewes), how long shall I be with you, how long shall I suffer you, ere my myracles work in you the like meditation? All of you are ambitious of much prosperity, long life & many daies, for your bodies: none of you haue care of the prosperitie of your soules.

Math. 17.

There is a place in the Ile of *Paphos* where there neuer | fell rayne, there is a place within you called your harts, where no drops of the dewe of grace can haue accesse; Your dayes are as swyft as a post, yea, swifter thẽ a Weauers shettle, they flye and see no good thing: yet flie you swyfter to Hell then they. *Veniunt anni vt eant* (sayth *Augustine*), *non veniunt vt stant*, yeres come that they may trauell on, and not stand still: passing by vs they spoile vs, & lay vs open to the tirannie of a crueller enemy, Death. O if we loue so this miserable and finite life, how ought we to loue that celestial & infinite life, where we shal enioy all pleasures so plentiful that Ambition shal haue nothing ouer-plus to worke on!

L 4

Heere we labour, drudge, and moyle, yet for all our labouring, drudging, and moyling, cannot number the things we lacke. Wee are neuer long at ease, but some crosse or other afflicteth vs. As the earth is compassed round with waters, so are we (the inhabitants thereof) compassed round with woes. Wee see great men dye, strong men dye, wittie men dye, fooles dye, rich Merchants, poore Artificers, Plowmen, Gentlemen, high men, low men, wearish men, grosse men, and the fairest complexiond men die, yet we perswade our selues wee shall neuer die. Or if we doe not so perswade our selues, why prepare wee not to die? Why doe wee raigne as Gods on the earth, that are to bee eaten with wormes? Shoulde a man, with *Zerxes*, but enter into this conceite with himselfe, that as he sees one old man carried to buriall, so, within threescore yeeres, not one of all

8 prosperitie] *Gro.*: posteritie *Q.* 13 shuttle *13.* 15 *Austine 13.* 17 cruell *13.*

our glistering Courtiers, not one of al our fayre Ladies, not one of all our stoute Souldiers and Captaines, not one of all thys age throughout the World should be left, what a dampe and deadly terror woulde it strike. Temples of stone and
5 Marble decay and fall downe; then thinke not, | Ambition, L 4v to out-face Death, that art but a Temple of flesh. *Diues* dyed and was buried, *Lazarus* dyed and was buried, brasen-fore-head Ambition, thou shalt dye and be buried. King or Queene what-euer, thou shalt die & be buried.

10 Alas, what madde harebraynd sotts are we; wee will take vp a humour of Ambition which we are not able to vp-hold, and know assuredly (ere many yeres) we must be throwne downe from: yet come what will, (at all auentures) we will goe thorowe with it; Wee will be Gods and Monarchs in our
15 lyfe, though we be deuils after death. Ouer and ouer I repeate it double and treble, that the spyrite of monarchizing in pryuate men is the spyrite of *Lucifer*. Christ sayd to his Disciples, *Hee that will be greatest amongst you shall be the least:* so say I, that he which will be the greatest in
20 any state, or seeketh to make hys posterity greatest, shall be the least; The least accounted of, the least reuerenced (for none that is getting ambitious, but is generally hated). Hys posteritie (though he establish them neuer so) shall not holde out. Fooles shall squander in an houre all the auarice
25 of their ambitious wise Auncesters.

Ambition, on the sands thou buildest; regard thy soule more then thy sons & daughters, let poore men gleane after thy Carte, cast thy breade vpon the Waters. Thy greedines of the World teacheth the deuil to be greedie of thy
30 soule. Hee accuseth his Spyrits & vpbraydeth them of sloth by thee, saying: Mortall men in these and these many yeeres can heape together so manie thousandes, and what is it that they haue a minde to, which they gette not into their hands? but you Drones & Dormise (that in
35 celerity & quicknes shold out-start them) lie sleeping & stretching your selues by the harth of Hel-|fire, and haue M 1

5 Ambition *c.w.*

no care to looke about for the encrease of our Kingdome. Heauen gate is no bigger then the eye of a Needle, yet ambitious worldly men (hauing theyr backs like a Cammels, bunched with cares, and betrapped with brybes and oppressions) thinke to enter in at it. 5

Ambition, Ambition, harken to mee, there will be a blacke day when thy Ambition shall breake hys necke, when thou shalt lie in thy bedde as on a Racke stretching out thy ioynts; when thine eyes shall start out of thy head, & euery part of thee be wrunge as with the wind- 10 chollick. In midst of thy furie and malady, when thou shalt laugh and trifle, folter with thy tongue, rattle in thy throate, be busie in folding and doubling the clothes, & scratching and catching whatsoeuer comes neere thee: then (as the possessed with the Calentura) thou shalt offer to 15 leape and cast thy selfe out of the toppe of thyne house; thou shalt burst thy bowels and crack thy cheeks in striuing to keepe in thy soule: When thou shouldst looke vppe to Heauen, thou shalt be ouer-looking thy Will; and altering some clause of it, when thou sholdst be commend- 20 ing thy spirit.

In thy life hast thou sought more then what is needfull, therefore at thy death shalt thou neglect that is needfull. Ambition, (like *Ierusalem*) thou knowest not the time of thy visitation: for thou hast sought in this world to gather 25 great promotions vnto thee, & not gather thy selfe vnder Christs wing, *Thy house shall be left desolate vnto thee.*

A speciall branche of this Ambition is Auarice; as ritches or couetise there is nothing that so engenders Ambition. Euery Tree, euery Apple, euery Graine, euerie Hearbe, 30 M 1v euery Fruite, euery Weede hath hys seuerall | worme: the worme of wealth is Ambition, the spurre to Ambition is wealth. Ambitions selfe we haue displed sufficiently, his supporter we will now call in question. *Difficile est* (sayth an auncient Father) *vt non sit superbus qui diues; tolle* 35 *superbiam, diuitiæ non nocebunt:* It is a verie difficult thing

8 in] on *Gro.* 33 displed] displaid *13.*

for him not to be proud or ambitious that is ritch; take away his ambition, his ritches neuer hurt him.

Ritches haue hurte a great number in *England*, who if their ritches had not beene, had still been men and not
5 *Timonists*. Ritches, as they haue renowned, so they haue reproched *London*. It is nowe growne a Prouerbe *That there is no merchandize but Vsury*. I dare not affyrme it, but, questionlesse, Vsury cryeth to the children of Prodigality in the streetes: All you that will take vp mony or
10 commodities on your Land or possibilities, to banquet, riot, and be drunke, come vnto vs and you shall be furnished: for gaine we will helpe to damne both your soules and our owne. God in his mercy neuer cal them to their audit. God in his mercy ridde them all out of *London*, & then it
15 were to be hoped the Plague would cease, els neuer.

Ieremy sayth, *Woe be to him that buildeth his house with vnrighteousnes, and his chambers without equity, whose eyes and whose hart are onely for couetousnes and to shed innocent blood*. The eyes and the hart of Vsurers are onely for
20 couetousnes and to shed innocent blood. Moe Gentlemen by theyr entanglement and exactions haue they driuen to desperate courses, and so consequently made away & murdered, then eyther Fraunce, the Low-countries, or any forreyne siege or Sea-voyage this 40. yeres. Tell me
25 (almost) what Gentleman hath been cast away at Sea, or disasterly souldiourizd it by Lande, but they | haue enforst him thereunto by their fleecing? What is left for a man to doe, beeing consumed to the bare bones by these greedy Horseleaches, and not hauing so much reserued as would
30 buy him Bread, but eyther to hang at Tyborne, or pillage and reprizall where he may? Huge numbers in theyr stincking Prysons they haue starued, & made Dice of their bones for the deuill to throw at dice for theyr owne soules.

This is the course nowe-a-dayes euery one taketh to be
35 ritch: beeing a young Trader, and hauing of olde Mumpsimus (his auaritious Maister) learnd to bee hys Craftsmaister, for a yeere or two he is very thrifty, and husbandly

Ierem. 22.

M 2

he payes & takes as dulie as the Clock strikes, he seemeth very sober and precise, and bringeth all men in loue with him. When he thinketh he hath thorowlie wrunge himselfe into the Worlds good opinion, & that his credite is as much as hee will demaund, hee goes and tryes it, and on the 5 Tenter-hookes stretches it. No man he knoweth but he will scrape a little Booke curtesie of, two or three thousand pound (perhaps) makes vp his mouth. When hee hath it all in his handes, for a month or two he reuels it, and cuts it out in the whole cloth. 10

Hee falls acquainted with Gentlemen, frequents Ordinaries and Dicing-houses daily, where, when some of them (in play) haue lost all theyr money, he is very diligent at hand, on their Chaynes, or Bracelets, or Iewels, to lend them halfe the value: Now this is the nature of young Gentlemen, 15 that where they haue broke the Ise and borrowd once, they will come againe the seconde time; and that these young foxes knowe, as well as the Begger knowes his dish. But at the second time of their comming, it is doubtfull to say M 2v whether they shall haue | money or no. The worlde 20 growes hard, and wee all are mortal, let them make him any assurance before a Iudge, and they shall haue some hundred poundes (*per consequence*) in Silks & Veluets. The third time if they come, they shall haue baser commodities: the fourth time Lute strings and gray Paper; 25 And then, I pray pardon mee, I am not for you, pay me that you owe mee and you shall haue any thing.

When thus this young Vsurer hath thrust all hys pedlary into the hands of nouice heyres, & that he hath made, of his three thousand, nine thousand in Bonds and Recog- 30 nisances (besides the strong fayth of the forfeytures), he breakes, and cryes out amongst his neighbors, that he is vndone by trusting Gentlemen; his kinde hart hath made him a begger: and warnes al men (by his example) to beware howe they haue any dealings with them. For a 35 quarter of a yeere or there-abouts, hee slyps his necke out of the Coller, and settes some graue man of his kindred (as his

Father-in-law or such like) to goe and report his lamentable mischaunce to his Creditors, and what his honest care is, to pay euery man his owne as farre as he is able. His Creditors (thinking all is Gospell he speakes, & that his state is lower
5 ebbed then it is) are glad to take any thing for theyr owne: so that wheras three thousand pound is due, in his absence all is satisfied for eyght hundred, (his Father-in-law making them beleeue he layes it out of his owne purse).

All matters thus vnder-hand discharged, my young
10 Merchant returnes, and settes vppe fresher then euer he did. Those Bonds and Statuts he hath, he puts in sute amaine. For a hundred pound commodity, (which is not forty pound money,) he recouers by relapse some hundred pound a yeere. In three Tearmes, of a banqrout he | wexeth a M 3
15 great landed man, and may compare with the best of his Company. O intollerable Vsury! not the Iewes (whose peculier sinne it is) haue euer committed the like.

What I write is most true, and hath beene practised by more then one or two. I haue a whole Booke of young
20 Gentlemens cases lying by mee, which if I should sette foorth, some graue Auntients (within the hearing of Bow-bell) would be out of charity with mee. Howe euer I flie from particularities, this I will proue, that neuer in any Citty (since the first assembly of societies) was euer suffered
25 such notorious cosonage and villany as is shrouded vnder thys seauentie-fold vsury of commodities. It is a hundred parts more hatefull then Conny-catching: it is the Nurse of sinnes, without the which the fire of them all would be extinguisht, and want matter to feede on.

30 Poets talke of enticing Syrens in the Sea, that on a sunnie-day lay forth theyr golden trammels, their Iuory neckes, & theyr siluer breastes, to entice men; sing sweetlie, glance peircingly, play on Lutes rauishingly: but I say, There is no such Syrens by Sea as by Land, nor women as
35 men: those are the Syrens, that hang out theyr shyning Silkes and Veluets, and dazle Prides eyes with theyr

1, 7 Father-inlaw *Q*. 16 Vsury! not] *13*: Vsury, not *93, 94*.

deceitfull haberdashry. They are like the Serpent that tempted *Adam* in Paradise, who whereas God stinted him, what Trees and fruites he should eate on, and goe no further, hee entist him to breake the bondes of that stint, and put into his head what a number of excellent 5 pleasures he should reape thereby; So wheras carefull Fathers send theyr chyldren to thys Citty, in all gentleman-like quallities to be trayned vp, and stint them to a M 3v moderate allowance, sufficient (indifferently hus-|banded) to maintaine their credite euery way, and profite them in 10 that they are sent hether for: what doe our couetous Cittie blood-suckers, but hyre Pandars and professed parasitical Epicures, to close in with them, and (like the Serpent) to alienate them from that ciuill course wherein they were setled? Tis ryot and misgouernment that must deliuer 15 them ouer into theyr hands to be deuoured.

Those that heere place their children to learne witte and see the worlde, are like those that in *Affrick* present theyr children (when they are first borne) before Serpents: which if the children (they so present) with their very sight scare 20 away the Serpents, then are they legittimate, otherwise they are Bastards. A number of poore chyldren & sucklings (in comparison) are, in the Court and Innes of Court, presented to these Serpents and stinging Extortioners of *London*, who neuer flye from them, but with their tayle winde 25 them in, and sucke out their soules without scarring their skinne. Whether they be legittimate or no that are so exposed to these Serpents, I dare not determine, for feare of enuie; But sure legittimately (or as they shold) they are not brought vp, that are manumitted from their parents 30 awe, as soone as they can goe and speake.

Zeuxes hauing artificially painted a Boy carrying Grapes in a Hand-basket, and seeing the Birds (as they had been true Grapes) come in flocks & pecke at them, was wonderfully angry with himselfe and his Arte, saying: Had I 35 painted the Boy (which was the chiefe part of my picture) as well as I haue done the grapes (which were but a by accident

belonging to it) the Birds durst neuer haue beene so bold ; So if Fathers wold haue but as much care to paint and forme the manners of theyr | children, (when they come M 4 to mans estate,) as they haue well to proportion out trifles, 5 (to instruct and educate them in their triuiall infant yeeres,) sure these rauenous Byrdes (such as Brokers and Vsurers) would neuer flye to them and pecke at them as they doe.

O Country Gentlemen, I wonder you doe not lay your heads together, and put vp a generall Supplication to 10 the Parliament against those priuie Canker-wormes & Catterpillers. Which of you all but (amongst them) hath his Heyre cosend, fetcht in, and almost consumed past recouery? Besides, his minde is cleane transposed from his originall, all deadly sinne he is infected with, all 15 diseases are hanging about him.

If one tice a Prentise to robbe his Maister, it is Felony by the Law ; nay, it is a great penalty, if he do but relieue him and encourage him, being fledde from his Maisters obedience and seruice: and shall wee haue no Lawe for 20 him that ticeth a sonne to robbe his Father? Nay, that shall robbe a Father of his sonne, robbe God of a soule? Euery Science hath some principles in it which must be be-lieued, and cannot be declared. The principles and practises of vsury exceed declaration ; belieue them to be lewder then 25 penne can with modestie expresse ; enquire not after them, for they are execrable. *De rebus male acquisitis, non gaude-bit tertius heres*, Ill gotten goods neuer trouble the third heyre. *Euery plant* (saith Christ) *my heauenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out.* Plant they neuer so 30 their posterity with the reuenewes of oppression, since God hath not planted them, they shall be ruin'd and rooted out. As they haue supplanted other mens posteritie, so must they looke to haue theyr owne posteritie supplanted by others.

35 *Augustine*, in the fourth Chapter of his second Booke | of Confessions, pittifully complaineth how heynouslie• he M 4v

4 trifles *93, 94*.

had offended when he was a young man, in leading his companions to rob a Peare-tree in their next neighbours Orchard: *Amaui perire, O Domine* (he exclaimes), *amaui perire, amaui defectum turpis animæ et disiliens a Firmamento: malitiæ meæ causa nulla esset nisi malitia:* I loued 5 to perrish (ô Lord), I loued to perrish, in my vngratiousnesse I delighted (foule of soule that I was & quite slyding from the Firmament): of my malice there was no cause but malice. Of the stealing and beating downe of a fewe Peares, this holy Father makes such a burdenous matter 10 of conscience, as that he counted it his vtter perrishing and back-slyding from the Firmament; Vsurers make no conscience of cosoning and robbing men of whole Orchards, of whole fieldes, of whole Lordships; Of their malice and theft there is some other cause then malice, which is 15 Auarice.

If the stealing of one Apple in Paradise brought such an vniuersall plague to the worlde, what a plague to one soule will the robbing of a hundred Orphans of theyr possessions and fruite-yards bring? In the Country the Gentleman 20 takes in the Commons, racketh his Tennaunts, vndoeth the Farmer. In *London* the Vsurer snatcheth vp the Gentleman, gyues him Rattles and Babies for his ouer-rackt rent, and the Commons he tooke in, he makes him take out in Commodities. None but the Vsurer is or- 25 dained for a scourge to Pride and Ambition. Therefore it is that Bees hate Sheepe more then anie thing, for that when they are once in theyr wooll, they are so intangled that they can neuer get out. Therfore it is that Courtiers hate Merchants more then any men, for that being once 30 in their bookes, they can neuer get out. Many of them N 1 carry the countenaunces of Sheep, looke | simple, goe plain, weare their haire short; but they are no Sheepe, but Sheepe-byters: their wooll, or their wealth, they make no other vse of but to snarle & enwrappe men with. The 35 law (which was instituted to redresse wrongs and oppres-

5 *malitie mee 93, 94*: *malitie me 13.* 8)] *after* I was *in l.* 7 *Q.*

sions) they wrest contrarily, to oppresse and to wrong with. And yet thats not so much wonder, for Law, Logique, and the Swizers, may be hir'd to fight for any body; and so may an Vsurer (for a halfepeny gaine) be hyred to bite 5 any body. For as the Beare cannot drinke but he must byte the water, so cannot hee coole his auaritious thirst but he must plucke and bite out hys Neighbors throate.

Bursa Auari os est diaboli, the Vsurers purse is Hell mouth. Hee hath *Hydropem conscientiam* (as *Augustine* 10 sayth), a dropsie conscience, that euer drinkes and euer is dry. Like the Foxe, he vseth his witte and his teeth together, he neuer smyles but he seazeth, hee neuer talkes but he takes aduantage. He cryes with the ill Husbandmen (to whom the Vineyarde was put out in the Gospel), 15 *This is the heyre, come let vs kill him, and we shal haue his inheritaunce.* Math. 21. Other men are sayd to goe to Hell, hee shall ryde to Hell on the deuils backe (as it is in the olde Morrall): and if he did not ryde, hee would swym thether in innocents blood whom hee hath circumuented. No men 20 so much as Vsurers coueteth the deuill to bee great with; He is called *Mammon*, the God or Prince of thys World, that is, The God and Prince of Vsurers and Penny-fathers. Nay more, euery Vsurer of himselfe is a deuill, since this word *Dæmon* signifieth nought but *Sapiens*, a subtile 25 worldly Wise-man.

When a Legion of deuils (in the Land of the *Gargisens*) were cast forth of two men that came out of graues, they desired they might goe into Hogs or swine (which | are N 1v Vsurers): many of those Hogges or Swine they tumbled 30 into the Sea: many of our hoggish Vsurers the deuill tumbles for gaine into the Sea. Vsurers (with the draffe of thys world) so feede and fatten the deuils, that nowe they almost passe not of possessing any man else. The Iewes were all Hogges, that is, Vsurers, and therefore 35 if there had beene no diuine restraint for it, yet nature it selfe woulde haue disswaded them from eating Swihes-

13–4 Husband-man *13*. 21 of] *13*: *om. 93, 94*: [of] *Gro.*

flesh, that is, from feeding on one another. The Prodigall-child in the Gospell is reported to haue fedde Hogges, that is, Vsurers, by letting them beguile hym of his substance.

As the Hogge is still grunting, digging, & wrooting in 5 the mucke, so is the Vsurer still turning, tossing, digging, & wrooting in the muck of this world; like the Hog he carries his snoute euer-more down-ward, & nere lookes vp to Heauen.

Christ sayd, *It was not meete the childrens bread should* 10 *be taken from them and gyuen vnto dogges;* no more is it meete that the chyldrens lyuing and substance shold be taken from them and giuen vnto Hogges. *Paule* sayth, Rom. 3. *We must not doe euill that good may come of it:* there is no euill which a hoggish Vsurer will not doe, so that goods 15 or profite may come of it. They will bee sure to verifie Math. 27. our Sauiours words, *The poore haue you alwaies with you:* for they will make all poore that they deale with. Such vnnaturall dealing they vse towards theyr poore bretheren as though they came not naturally into the worlde, but 20 like those that were called *Cæsares, quasi cæsi ex matris vtero,* they were also cutte out of their Mothers wombe, when they came into the world. For this, ô *London,* if (like *Zaccheus*) thou repentest not, and restorst ten fold, *Thy house shall be left desolate vnto thee.* The cryes of 25 N 2 the | fatherlesse and widdowe shall break of the Angels *Hosannas* and *Alleluiahs*, and pluck the sterne of the worlde out of Gods hand, till he hath acquited them. Oppression is the price of bloode: into your Treasuries you put the price of blood, which the Iewes that kild Christ feared to 30 doe. You hauing many flockes of sheepe of your owne, and your poore Neighbour but one selie Lambe (which he nurst in his owne bosome), that Lambe haue you taken away from him, and spared farre better Fatlings of your owne. 35

By your swearing & forswearing in bargayning, you haue confiscated your soules long agoe. There is no

religion in you but loue of money. Any doctrine is welcome to you, but that which beates on good workes. The charity & dutie that God exacts of you, you thinke discharged, if in speech you neither meddle nor make
5 with hym; the charity to your Neighbour, you coniecture onely consisteth in bidding good-euen and good-morrowe. Beguile not your selues, for as there is no Prince but will haue his Lawes as well not broken, as not spoken against, so will God reuenge himselfe, as wel against the breakers of
10 his Lawes, as against those that speake against them.

It is not your abrupt Graces, *God bee praysed*, *Much good doe it you*, or saying, *We are nought*, *God amende vs*, *Syr*, *I drinke to you*, that shal stop Gods mouth; but he wil come and not hold hys peace; He will scatter your
15 treasure and your store, and leaue you nothing of that you haue layd vp, saue the Kingdome of Heauen & the righteousnesse therof. Rich Vsurers, be counsailed betimes, surcease to inritch your selues with other mens losse. Holde it not enough to fall downe and worship Christ, except
20 (with the Wise-men of the East) you open your | treasures, N 2v and present him with Golde, Mirhe, and Frankinsence.

Bring forth some fruites of good workes in this lyfe, that we may not altogether dispayre of you as barrayne Trees, good for nothing but to be hewne downe & cast into
25 Hell-fire. *Pasce fame morientem quisquis pascendo seruare poteris: si non paueris, fame occidisti:* Feede him that dyes for hunger: Whosoeuer thou art that canst preserue and doost not, thou art guilty of famishing him. Christ (at the latter day), in his behalfe, shall vpbrayde thee,
30 *When I was hungry, thou gauest me no meate; when I was thirstie, thou deniedst me drinke: Depart from me, thou accursed. Erogando pecuniam auges iustitiam*, by laying out thy money thou increasest thy righteousnesse. Againe, *Nil diues habet de diuitijs, nisi quod ab illo postulat pauper.*
35 A ritch man treasures vp no more of his ritches then he giueth in almes.

Ambro. de officì. (margin, l. 25)

Math. 25. (margin, l. 30)

17 therof] therfore *13*. 27 Whosoeuer] Whatsoeuer *13*.

My Maisters, I will not disswade, but giue you counsaile to be Vsurers: Put out your money to vsury to the poore heere on Earth, that you may haue it a hundred fold repayd you in Heauen. As it is in the Psalmes, *A good man is mercifull and lendeth, hee giueth, he disperseth, he distributeth to the poore, and his righteousnes remaineth for euer.* So that we see, by that which we giue we gaine and not loose; and yet what doe we gyue, but that wee cannot keepe? For gyuing but backe againe what was first gyuen vs, and which if wee should not gyue, Death would take from vs, we shall purchase an immortall inheritance that can nere be pluckt from vs. With halfe the paynes wee put our selues to in purchasing earthlie wealth, we may purchase Heauen.

Psalm 112.

Wealth many tymes flyes from them that with greatest sollicitude & greedines seek after it. For Heauen, it is | no more but seeke and it is yours, knocke and it shall be opened. With lesse sute (I assure you) is the kingdome of Heauen obtained, then a sute for a Pension or office to an earthly King, which though a man hath 20. yeeres followed, and hath better then three parts and a halfe of a promise to haue confirmed, yet if hee haue but a quarter of an enemy in the Court, it is casheird & non suted. God will not be corrupted; he is not partiall as man is, he hath no Parasites about hym, hee seeth with hys owne eyes, & not with the eyes of those that speak for bribes. Hee is not angry, or commaunds vs to be driuen backe when we are importunate; but he commaunds vs to be importunate, and is angry if we be not importunate. In the Parable of the godlesse Iudge and the importunate Widdow, he teacheth that importunity may gette anie thing of him.

N 3

Luke, 21.

So in the similitude of the man that came to his friend at midnight, to desire hym to lend hym three loaues, and hys friend aunswered him, Hys doore was shut, his children and seruaunts in bedde, and he could not rise hymselfe to giue them him: at length (hee still continuing in knocking, & that for him neither he nor his might rest) to be rid of

6 So that . . .] *New par. 13.* 25 spake *13.*

his importunity, (not for he was his friend,) he rose vp, and gaue him as many as he needed. Howe much more shall our GOD giue vs what we aske, that asketh no other treuage at our handes for giuing, but asking and thanksgiuing? We 5 must hunger and thyrst after righteousnes, and we shall be satis-fied. Hunger and thirst makes the Lyon to rore, the Wolues to howle, Oxen and Kine to bellough and bray, and Sheepe (of al Beastes the most selie and timorous) to bleate and complaine; Can man then (that in spyrite and 10 audacitie exceedeth all the beastes of the field), hungering & thirsting | after righteousnes, hold his peace? Woulde God N 3v euer haue encouraged him with a blessing to hunger and thirst, but that the extremity of hunger and thirst might driue him to the extremity of importunity and prayer? *I* 15 *cryed vnto the Lord* (saith *Dauid*) *and he heard mee:* Hee did not coldly, bashfully, or formally onely, cry to the Lord, as not caring whether he were heard or no, but hee cryed vnto him with his whole hart: euen to the Lord he cryed, and hee heard him. *Ezekias* cryed vnto the Lord, and he 20 heard him. The bloode of the Saints vnder the Altar (as all bloode) is sayde to cry vnto the Lord for vengeaunce. *Thy Brother Abels bloode hath cried vnto me*, sayd God to Gene. 4. *Caine*. The prayer of the fatherlesse and Widdow (which God heareth aboue all things) is called a cry.

25 Vsurers, you are none of these cryers vnto God, but those that hourely vnto God are most cryde out against. God hath cryde out vnto you by his Preachers, GOD hath cryde out vnto you by the poore; Prysoners on their death-beds haue cryde out of you, and when they haue had but one 30 houre to intercessionate for theyr soules, & sue out the pardon of their numberles sinnes, the whole part of that houre (sauing one minute, when in two words they cryde for mercy) haue they spent in crying for vengeance against you. After they were dead, theyr Coffins haue beene 35 brought to your doores in the open face of Cheapside, and ignominious Ballads made of you, which euery Boy woulde

23 *Caine*] *Esau 93, 94. Corr. in Errata.*

chaunt vnder your nose: yet will not you repent, nor with all thys crying be awaked out of your Dreame of the Deuill and *Diues*. Therefore looke that when on your death-beddes you shall lye, and cry out of the Stone, the Strangullion, and the Goute, you shall not be heard: your paine 5 N 4 shalbe so | wrastling, tearing, and intollerable, that you shal haue no leysure to repent or pray: no, nor so much as lyft vppe your hands, or think one good thought. Euen as others haue curst you, so shall you be ready to curse God, & desire to be swallowed quicke, to excorse the agony you are in. 10

As the deuill in the seconde of *Iob*, being asked from whence he came, answered, From compassing the earth; so you, being askt at the day of Iudgement from whence you come, shall aunswer, From compassing the Earth; For Heauen you haue not compast or purchast; therfore shall 15 Hel-fire be your portion. *Euery man shall receiue of God, according to that in his body he hath wrought.* If in your bodies you haue done no good works, of God you shall receiue no good words. The words of God are deeds; he spake but the word, and Heauen & Earth were made. 20 He shal speake but the word, and to Hel shal you be had. Good deedes deriued from fayth are Rampiers or Bulwarks raysed vp against the deuill: he that hath no such Bulwarke of good deedes to resist the deuils batterie, cannot chuse but haue his soules-cittie soone raced. 25

[Margin:]. Cor. 5.]

Good deeds are a tribute which we pay vnto God for defending vs from al our ghostly enemies, & planting his peace in our consciences. In stead of the ceremoniall Lawe, burnt Offerings and Sacrifices, (which are ceased,) God hath giuen vs a new Law, To loue one another: that is, to 30 shew the fruites of loue, which are good deedes to one another. The Widdowes Oyle was increased in her Cruse, and her Meale in her tubbe, onelie for doing good deeds to the Prophet of the Lord. Few be there now-a-dayes that wil doe good deedes but for good deedes, that is, for rewardes. 35

[Margin:]t is not my]neaning]n all this]liscourse of]good deeds]o seioyne]any of them]rom]fayth.]

[1] 2. Cor. 5.] *om. 13.* [2] It is not . . .] *om. 13.*

33 in in her tubbe *13.*

If seates of iustice were to be solde for money, wee haue them amongst vs | that would buy them vp by the whole N 4v sale, and make them away againe by retaile. Hee that buyes must sell; shrewd Alcumists there are risen vp, that 5 will pick a merchandise out of euery thing, and not spare to set vp theyr shops of buying and selling euen in the Temple: I wold to God they had not sold and pluckt downe Church & Temple, to build them houses of stone. God shall cutte them of, that enritch themselues with the 10 fatte of the Altar.

Oues pastorem non iudicent (sayth an auncient wryter), *quia non est Discipulus supra Magistrum; multo minus deglubent:* Let not the Sheepe iudge their sheepeheard, because the scholler is not aboue his Maister; much lesse 15 are they to fleece or pluck from their Maister or Sheepheard: to shaue or to pelt him to the bare bones, to whom (for feeding them) they should offer vppe theyr fleeces. *Dijs parentibus, et magistris,* sayth *Aristotle, non potest reddi equiualens,* To the Gods, our Fathers, and our Schoole-maisters, 20 can neuer bee giuen as they deserue. He was an Ethnick that spoke thus, we Christians (onely because he hath spoke it) will doe any thing against it: From God, our Parents, & our Schoole-maisters (which are our Preachers), say we, can neuer be pluckt sufficient. To make our selues ritch, 25 we care not if wee make our Church like Hell, where (as *Iob* sayth) *Vmbra mortis et nullus ordo est,* there is the shadow of death, & confusion without order.

Aristot. in Ethi.

O Auarice, that breaketh both the Lawe of *Moyses* and the Law of Nature, in taking vsury or in-comes for 30 Aduousions, and not letting the Land of the Priestes be free from trybute: those to whom thou leauest that ill gotten vsury or tribute shall be a pray to the irreligious. *Fyre shall consume the house of brybes.* |

Job, 15.

No Cart that is ouer-loden or crammed too full, but hath O 1 35 a tayle that will scatter. Beware least Hogges come to

[1] Aristot. in Ethi.] *om. 13.*

15 fleece or] *om. 13.* maister the Shepheard *13.*

gleane after your Carts-tayle, that your heyres come not to be Wardes vnto Vsurers, for they will put out theyr Lands to the best vse, of seauen-score in the hundred, and make them serue out theyr wardshippe in one Pryson or other. The onely way for a rich man to preuent robbing, is to be 5 bountifull and liberall. None is so much the thieues mark as the myser and the Carle. Giue while you liue (rich men), that those you leaue behinde you may be free from Cormorants and Catterpillers. If there be but in your bags one shilling that shoulde haue beene the poores, that shilling will 10 be the consumption of all his fellowes: one rotten Apple marreth all the rest, one scabbed sheepe infects a whole flock.

Euen as a Prince, out of his Subiects goods, hath lones, dismes, Subsidies, & Fifteenes; so God, out of our goods, demaundeth a lone, a tenth, and a Subsidie to the poore. 15 *Loe, the one halfe of my goods* (sayth *Zaccheus*) *I giue to the poore.* Is not he an ill seruant, that when his Maister shall into his hands deliuer a large summe of money, to be distributed amongst the needy and impotent, shall purse it vp into his owne Coffers, and eyther giue them none at all, 20 or but the hundreth part of it? Such ill seruaunts are we. The treasure and possessions we haue, are not our owne, but the Lorde hath giuen them vs to giue to the poore, and spend in his seruice: we (very obsequiouslie) giue to the poore onely the mould of our treasure, and will rather 25 detract from Gods seruice then detract from our drosse. No where is pitty, no where is piety, our House must needes *be left desolate vnto vs.*

The Idolatrous Gentiles shall rise vp against vs, that bestowed all their wealth on Fanes and shrines to theyr | 30 O 1ᵛ gods, and presents and offerings to their Images; To the true Image of God (which are the poore) wee will scarce offer our bread-parings. The Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was two hundred yeeres in building by all *Asia.* There was none that obtained any victory, but built a Temple at 35

9 be in your bags, but one *13.* 19 among *13.* 27 piety] *94* (*B.M. copy*): pitty *93*, *13.*

his return, to that god (as he thought) which assisted him. Not so much as the *Feuer quartan*, but the Romaines built a Temple to, thinking it some great God because it shooke them so; and another to *Ill fortune*, in *Exquilijs*, a Mountaine
5 in Rome, because it should not plague them at Cardes and Dice. No *Feuer quartanes*, *Ill fortune*, or *Good fortune*, may wring out of vs any good workes. Our deuotion can away with anie thing, but this Pharasaicall almes-giuing.

Hee that hath nothing to doe with his money but build
10 Churches, we count him one of God-almighties Fooles, or els (if he beare the name of a Wise-man) we tearme him a notable braggart. Tut, tut, Almes-houses will make good stables, and, let out in Tenements, yeelde a round sum by the yeere. A good strong bard hutch is a building
15 worth twenty of those Hospitals and Almes-houses; Our rich Chuffes will rather put their helping hands to the building of a prison then a house of prayer. Our Courtiers lay that on their backs, which shold serue to build Churches and schooles. Those Preachers please best, which can fitte
20 vs with a cheape Religion, that preach Fayth, and all Fayth, and no Good-workes, but to the houshold of Fayth.

Ministers and Pastors (to some of you I speake, not to all), tis you that haue brought downe the price of Religion; beeing couetous your selues, you preach nothing
25 but couetous doctrine: your followers, seeing you giue no almes, take example (by you) to hold in their handes | to, & will giue no almes. That Text is too often in your O 2 mouthes, *Hee is worse then an Infidel that prouides not for his wife and family*. You doe not cry out for the Altar,
30 cry out for money to maintaine poore Schollers, cry out for more liuing for Colledges, cry out for reliefe for thẽ that are sicke and visited: you rather cry out against the Altar, cry out against the lyuing the Church hath alreadie.

It were to be wished, that order were taken vppe amongst
35 you, which was obserued in S. *Augustines* time: For then it was the custome, that the poore shold begge of none

4 in] on *Gro.* 29 for] of *13*.

but the Preacher or Minister, and if hee had not to giue them, they should exclaime and cry out of hym, for not more effectually moouing and crying out to the people for them. Had euery one of you all the poore of your Parishes hanging about your doores, and readie to rent 5 your garments of your backes, and teare out your throats for bread euery time you stird abroad, you wold bestirre you in exhortation to charity and good workes, and make your selues hoarse in crying out against couetise and hardnes of hart. 10

London, thy hart is the hart of couetousnes, all charitie and compassion is cleane banished out of thee: except thou amendest, *Ierusalem*, *Sodome*, and thou, shall sit downe and weepe together.

From Ambition & Auarice, his suborner, let mee progresse 15 to the second sonne of Pride, which is Vaine-glorie. This Vaine-glory is any excessiue pride or delight which we take in things vnnecessary; Much of the nature is it of Ambition, but it is not so daungerous, or conuersant about so great matters, as Ambition. It is (as I may call it) 20 the froth and seathing vp of Ambition. Ambition that O 2v cannot containe it selfe, but it must hop and | bubble aboue water. It is the placing of praise and renowne in contemptible things. As he that takes a glory in estranging himselfe from the attyre and fashions of his owne 25 Country. Hee that taketh a glory to weare a huge head of hayre like *Absalom*. He that taketh a glory in the glystring of his apparraile and his perfumes, and thinks euery one that sees him or smels to him should be in loue with him. Hee that taketh a glory in hearing himselfe 30 talke, and stately pronouncing his words. He that taketh a glory to bring an othe out with a grace, to tell of hys cosonages, his surfettings, his drunkennes, and whoredomes. Hee that (to be counted a Caualeir, & a resolute braue man) cares not what mischiefe he doe, whom hee quarrels 35 with, kils, or stabbes.

13 *Thou* 13. 33 his surfetings, and drunkennesse 13.

Such was *Pausanias* that kild *Phillip* of *Macedon*, onelie for fame or vaine-glory. So did *Herostratus* burne the Temple of *Diana* (whereof I talkt in the leafe before), to gette him an eternall vaine-glory. The Spanyards are
5 wonderfull vaine-glorious. Many Souldiours are most impatient vaine-glorious, in standing vpon theyr honor in euery trifle, & bosting more then euer they did. They are vaine-glorious also in commending one another for murders and braules: which (if they weighed aright) is the most
10 ignominy that may be. By a great oth they wil sweare, he is a braue delicate sweet man, for he kild such & such a one; as if they should say, *Caine* was a braue delicate sweet man, for killing his brother *Abel*. He was the first that inuented this going into the field, and now it is growne
15 to a common exercise euery day after meate. Many puny Poets & old ill Poets are mighty vaine-glorious, of whom *Horace* speaketh: *Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina; verum gaudent scribentes et se venerantur, et vltro, si taceas, laudant quicquid scripsere beati.* They | are of all O 3
20 men had in derision (sayth he) that bungle and bodge vppe wicked verses: but yet they doe honie and tickle at what they write, & wonderfully to themselues applaude and prayse themselues; And of theyr owne accord, (if you doe not commend them) they wil openly commend them-
25 selues, and count their pennes blessed whatsoeuer they inuent. Many excellent Musitians are odde fantasticke vaine-glorious. There is vaine-glory in building, in banquetting, in being Diogenicall and dogged, in voluntary pouerty and deuotion. Great is theyr vaine-glory also
30 that will rather reare themselues monuments of Marble then monuments of good deedes in mens mouthes. In a word, as *Paule* sayth, *Non est, Domine, in quo gloriari possim, sed in Cruce Domini Iesu Christi:* There is no true glory, all is vain-glory, but in the Crosse of our Lorde
35 Iesus Christ. The Iewes vaine-glory and presumptuous

17–8 *carmina verum. Gaudent . . . vltro. Si 93, 13.* 19 *laudant*] *94 (B. M. copy)*: *laudunt 93, 13.*

confidence in theyr Temple, was one of the chiefe sinnes that pluckt on theyr *desolation.* In that Chapter where our Sauiour gaue iudgement ouer *Ierusalem,* how bitterly did he inueigh against the hypocrisy and vaine-glory of the Scribes and Pharisies. 5

Let vs examine what this hypocrisie and vaine-glorie was, he inueighed so against, and see if there be any such amongst vs heere in *London.*

First, he accuseth them, *Of binding heauy burdens and too grieuous to be borne, and laying them on other mens* 10 *shoulders, and not moouing them with one finger themselues.* That is as much to say as States of a Country shoulde make burdenous Lawes, to oppresse and keepe vnder the Communalty, and looke seuerely to the obseruation of them; but woulde keepe none of them themselues, nor will 15 not so much as deigne with one finger to touch them. |

O 3v Secondly, *They did all theyr workes to bee seene of men.* So doe they that will doe no good works, but to be put in the Chronicles after theyr death: so do they that publiquely wil seeme the most precise iusticiaries vnder 20 heauen, but priuately mittigate theyr sentence for mony & gyfts, *which blind the wise, & subuert the words of the iust.* The especiall thing Christ in the Pharisies reproooueth that they did to be seene of men, was the wearing of theyr large *Philactaries.* Those *Philactaries* (as S. *Ierom* saith) 25 were broade peeces of Parchement, wheron they wrote the tenne Commaundements, and folding them vp close together, bound them to theyr fore-heade, and so wore them alwayes before theyr eyes, imagining thereby they fulfilled that which was sayd: *They shal be alwaies im-* 30 *mooueable before thine eyes.* That which they had alwaies vaine-gloriously before their eyes, that haue we alwaies vaine-gloriously in our mouthes, but seldom or neuer in our harts. Neuer was so much professing & so little practising, so many good words and so few good deedes. 35

Exod. 23.

Ierom on the 23. of Matthew.

15–6 nor so much as deigne (with one of theyr fingers) to touch them. *94* (*B. M. copy*). 17 *They*] *The 13.* 18 worke *13.*

The third obiection against the Pharisies was, *That they loued the highest places at feastes, the chiefe seates in assemblies, and greeting in the Market-place:* Which is as much to say as that they were arrogant, haughty minded,
5 and insolent; that they had no spyrite of humilitie or meeknesse in them: They were besotted with the pryde of theyr owne singularity, they thought no man worthy of any honour but themselues. By intrusion & not standing on curtesie, they gotte to sitte highest at Feastes, and
10 be preferr'd in Assemblies: which appeareth by that which followeth some few verses after: *For who soeuer will exalt himselfe shall be brought lowe, and whosoeuer will humble himselfe shal be exalted.* Which inferreth, | that O 4 they did intrude or exalt themselues, and were not exalted
15 otherwise: therfore they should be humbled or brought low. Diuers like Pharisies haue wee, that will proudly exalt themselues.

After thys, our Sauiour breathes out many woes against them. First, *For shutting vp the Kingdom of heauen from*
20 *before men, and neither entring themselues, nor suffering those that would to enter.* Next, *For deuouring widdowes houses vnder pretence of long prayers.* Thirdlie, *For compassing Sea and Lande to seduce.* Fourthly, *For theyr false and fond distinction and interpretation of othes.* Fiftlie,
25 *For tithing mynt and Annise seede and commin, & leauing weightier matters of the law, iudgement, mercy, and fidelitie, fore-slowed: for strayning at a Gnat and swallowing a Cammell.* Sixthly, *For making cleane the out-side of the cuppe or the platter, when within they were full of bribery*
30 *and excesse.* Seauenthly, *For they were like vnto whited Tombes, which appeare beautifull outward, but within are full of dead mens bones and all filthines.* Eyghtly, *For they built the Tombes of the Prophets and garnisht the Sepulchers of the righteous, whose doctrine they refused to*
35 *be ruled by.* Which of all these eyght woes but we haue incurred?

Peculiarly apply them I will not, for feare their reference

might be offensiue : but let euery one that is guiltie in any of them apply them priuately to himselfe, least euery childe in the streete apply them openly to his reproofe.

London, looke to thy selfe, for the woes that were pronounced to *Ierusalem* are pronounced to thee. Thou, 5 transgressing as grieuously as shee, shalt be punished as grieuously. Fly from sinne, take no pride or vaine-glorie in it; for pryde or vaine-glory in sinne, is a horrible sinne, O 4v though it be without purpose to sinne. Ah, what | is sinne that we should glory in it? To glory in it, is to glory 10 that the deuill is our father. Dooth the Peacocke glory in his foule feete? Dooth he not hang downe the tayle when he lookes on them? Doth the Buck (hauing be-filtht himselfe with the female) lift vp his hornes & walke proudly to the lawnes? O no, he so hateth himselfe, (by reason of 15 the stinch of his commixture,) that all drouping and languishing, into some solitary Ditche he with-drawes himselfe, and takes soyle, and batheth til such time as there fall a great shoure of rayne, when being thorowly washed and clensed, he posteth back to his foode. 20

Of the Peacocke, of the Bucke, nor any other brute Beast, can we be taught to lothe our filth, but (contrary to nature), farre worse then brute beastes, wee are enamoured of the sauour of it. *Omne vitium eo ipso quod vitium est, contra naturam, est.* Euery vice as it is a vice, is contrary to 25 nature. Takes the deuill a vaine-glory or pryde that he is exiled out of heauen? No, he rueth, hee curseth, he enuies God, men, and Angels, that they should liue in the kingdome of light, & he in the vallie of darknesse.

August. lib. 3. de lib. arbit.

What cowarde is there that will bragge or glory hee was 30 beaten and disarmed? If wee had the witte to conceiue the basenesse of sinne, or from what abiect Parentage it is sprung, we would hate it as a Toade, and flye from it as an Adder. Not without reason haue manie learned Wryters called it Bestiall, for it is all deriued & borrowed from 35 Beastes. Pride and inflamation of hart we borrow from the

7 or] nor *13*. 18 such] suck *13*. 20 feede *94* (*B. M. copy*).

Lyon, auarice from the Hedghog, luxury, ryot, and sensuality from the Hogge: and therefore we call a leatcherous person a bearish companion. Enuy from the Dogge, Ire or wrath from the Wolfe, | gluttony or gurmandise from P 1
5 the Beare, and lastly sloth from the Asse. So that as wee apparraile our selues in Beastes skinnes, in selfe same sort we clothe our soules in theyr sinnes. But if wee did imitate ought but the imperfections of Beastes, (or of the best Beastes, but the worst Beastes,) it were some-what: if we
10 had any spark or taste of theyr perfections, wee were not so to be condemned. We haue no sparke, no taste, wee are nothing but a compound of vncleannes.

Let vs not glory that wee are men, who haue put on the shapes of Beastes. Thrice blessed are Beastes that die
15 soone, and after this life feele no hell: Woe vnto vs, we shall, if wee appeare to God in the image of beastes, and soone redeeme not from sathan the image of our creation he hath stolne from vs. O singuler subtilty of our enemy, so to sweeten the poyson of our perdition, that it should be
20 more relishsome and pleasant vnto vs, then the nectarized *Aqua cœlestis* of water-mingled blood, sluced from Christs side. We glory in that we are in the high-way to be throwne from glory: We will not heare our Folders or Sheepeheards, that would gather vs to glory. Our Lord
25 rode vppon an Asse when hee gouerned the Iewes, vnder the Law (in comparison of vs): we are the vnbroken-Colt, (including the Gentiles,) which hee commaunded (with the Asse) to be brought vnto hym. Thys thousand and odde hundred yeeres hath he beene breaking
30 vs to his hand, & now (when he had thought to haue found vs fitte for the saddle) we are wilder and further of then euer we were. Wee kicke and winche, and will by no meanes endure his managing. Wherefore, (though vtterly wearied with both) better he esteemeth of his old
35 obstinate slow Asse, the Iewes, (which therfore he cast of, for they had tir'd him with continual | beating,) then P 1ᵛ

7 in theyr skinnes *Q*. *Corr. in Errata of 93*. 25 Iewes] lawes *13*.

of the vntoward Colt (vs the Gentiles), that will not be bridled.

Ambition & vaine-glory make vs beare vp our necks stiflie, and bend our heads backward from the reyne, but age will make vs stoope thrice more forwarde, & warpe our 5 backs in such a round bundle that, with declyning, our snoutes shall digge our graucs.

England, thou needst not be ambitious, thou needst not be vaine-glorious, for ere this hast thou been bowed and burdned till thy backe crackt. As the Israelites were 10 tenne times led into captiuity, so seauen times hast thou beene ouer-runne and conquered. In thy strength thou boasts; God with the weake confoundeth the strong. The least lifting vp of his hand makes thy men of warre fall backward. Say thou art walled with Seas, how easie are 15 thy walls ouer-come! Who shall defende thy walls if the ciuill sworde waste thee? With more enemies is not *India* besette then thou are. Vngratefully hath God giuen thee long peace and plenty, since, whereas warre can but breede vices, thy peace and plentie hath begotte more sinnes then 20 warre euer hearde of or the Sunne hath *Atomi*.

Yet learne to leaue of thy vaine-glory, that God may glory in thee. Learne to despise the world, despise vanitie, despise thy selfe, to despise despysing, and lastlie, to despise no man. If you be of the worlde, you will affect the vain- 25 glory of the world: if you be not of the world, looke for no glory, but contempt, from the worlde. It lyes in your election to drawe lots, whither you will be heyres of the glory eternall, or enioy the short breath of vaine-glory amongst men. 30

The third sonne of Pride is Atheisme, which is when a P 2 man is so timpaniz'd with prosperity, and entranced | from himselfe with Wealth, Ambition, and Vaine-glory, that he forgets he had a Maker, or that there is a Heauen aboue him which controules him. Too much ioy of this world 35 hath made him drunke. I haue read of many whom ex-

9 hast thou] thou hast *13*.

treame ioy & extreame griefe hath forced to runne mad ; so with extreame ioy runnes he mad, he waxeth a Foole and an Idiote, and then hee sayes in his hart, *There is no God.* Others there be of these soule-benummed Atheists, who, 5 (hauing so farre entred in bold blasphemies, and Scripture-scorning ironies against God, that they thinke, if God be a God of any iustice & omnipotence, it cannot stand with that his iustice & omnipotence, to suffer such despight vnpunished,) for their onely refuge, perswade themselues there is no God, 10 and with theyr prophane wits inuent reasons why there should be no God.

In our Sauiours time there were *Saduces*, that denyed the Resurrection ; what are these Atheists but Saducæan sectaries that deny the resurrection? They belieue they 15 must die, though they belieue not the Deitie. By no meanes may they auoyd what they will not admitte. In the very houre of death shall appeare to them a God and a deuill. In the very houre of death, to Atheisticall *Iulian* (who mockingly called all Christians *Gallileans*) appeared a 20 grizly shaggy-bodied deuill, who for all (at his sight) hee recantingly cryed out, *Vicisti, Galilææ, vicisti*, Thine is the day, thine is the victory, ô man of *Galilee*, yet would it not for-beare him or giue him ouer, till it had stript his soule foorth of his fleshie rinde, and tooke it away with him.

25 Those that neuer heard of God or the deuill in theyr life before, at that instant of theyr transmutation shall gyue testimony of them. |

This I assure my selfe, that howe-euer in pride of minde P 2v (because they would be different in paradoxisme from all 30 the world) some there be that fantasie phylosophicall probabilities of the Trinities vnexistence, yet in the inmost recourse of theyr consciences they subscribe to him, and confesse him.

Most of them, because they cannot grosslie palpabrize or 35 feele God with their bodily fingers, confidently and grossely discard him. *Those that come to God must belieue that* [1]*God* Hebr. 11

[1] Hebr. 11.] *om. 13.*

is, and that he is a rewarder of them that seeke him. They, comming against God, belieue that he is not, and that those prosper best, and are best rewarded, that sette him at nought. *The heauens declare the glory of God, & the Firmament sheweth his handy work; one generation telleth another of the wonders hee hath doone:* yet will not these faythlesse contradictours suffer any glory to be ascribed to him. Stoutly they refragate and withstande, that the Firmament is not his handy-worke, nor will they credite one generation telling another of his wonders. They followe the Pironicks, whose position and opinion it is that there is no Hel or misery but opinion. Impudently they persist in it, that the late discouered Indians are able to shew antiquities thousands before *Adam.*

Psalm 18.

With *Cornelius Tacitus,* they make *Moyses* a wise prouident man, well seene in the Egiptian learning, but denie hee had any diuine assistance in the greatest of his miracles. The water (they say) which he strooke out of a Rocke in the Wildernes, was not by any supernaturall worke of GOD, but by watching to what parte the Wild-asses repayred for drink.

With *Albumazar,* they holde that his leading the Chyldren of Israell ouer the Red-sea, was no more but obseruing the influence of Starres, and wayning season | of the Moone that with-draweth the Tydes. They seek not to know God in his workes, or in his Sonne Christ Iesus, but by his substance, his forme, or the place wherin he doth exist. Because some late Writers of our side haue sought to discredite the story of *Iudith,* of *Susanna* and *Daniell,* and of *Bell* and the *Dragon,* they thinke they may thrust all the rest of the Bible (in like manner) into the Iewish Thalmud, and taxe it for a fabulous Legend.

P 3

Thys place serueth not to stand vppon proofes, or by confutation to confirme principles: neither dare I, with the weake proppe of my wit, offer to vp-holde the high Throne

[1] Psalm 18.] *om. 13.*
12 no] not *13.*

of the Godhead, since he that but stretcht out his hande to vnder-prop the Arke falling, was presentlie striken dead. O Lord, thou hast tenne thousand stronger pyllers then I am. I am the vnworthiest of all worme-reserued wretches, 5 once to speake of thee, or name thee. *My sinnes are* Psalm [1] *alwaie before me.* Princes will not let those come before them with whom they are displeased. I am afraid the congealed clowdes of my sinne will not let my prayers come neer thee. O, fauour thy glory though I haue dis- 10 pleased thee with follie. I will not bee so vnweaponed-ieopardous, to ouer-throwe both thy cause and my credite at once, by ouer-Atlassing myne inuention. That which I vnder-take shall be onely to throw one light Darte at theyr faces from a farre, and exhort all able pennes to Arme 15 themselues against thyne Atheisticall maledictours.

Of Atheists this age affordeth two sorts, the inwarde and the outward; The inwarde Atheist is he that deuoures widowes houses vnder pretence of long prayers, that (like the Panther) hideth his face in a hood of Religion, when he 20 goeth about his pray. He wold professe | himselfe an Atheist P 3v openly but that (like the Pharisies) he feareth the multitude. Because the multitude fauours Religion, he runnes with the streame, and fauours Religion; onely for he woulde be Captaine of a multitude. To be the God of gold, he cares 25 not how many gods he entertaines. Church-rights hee supposeth not amisse to busie the Common-peoples heads with, that they shold not fall aboard Princes matters. And as *Numa Pompilius* in Rome, and *Minos* in Athens, kept the people in awe, and thrust what tyrannous Lawes they 30 list vppon them, (the one, vnder pretence hee did nothing without conference of the Nimphe *Egeria*, the other, vnder colour he was inspyred in a certaine hollowe Caue by *Iupiter*,) so hee makes conscience and the Spyrite of God a long side-cloake for all his oppressions and pollicies. A 35 holie looke he will put on when he meaneth to do mischiefe,

[1] Psalm 50] *Corrected by Gro. to* Psalm 51 : *om. 13.*

23 onely for] because *13*

and haue Scripture in his mouth euen whiles hee is in cutting his neighbours throate.

The propagation of the Gospell (good Saint-like man) hee onely shootes at, when, vnder suppressing of Popery, hee striues to ouer-throwe all Church-lyuings. So that 5 euen as the Gospell is the power of God to saluation, to euery one that belieueth, so is it in him the deuils power of beguiling and vndoing, to euery one that belieues him. He it is that turneth the truth of God to a lye, and buildeth his house by hypocrisie; that hath his mouth 10 swept and garnished, but in his hart a whole Legion of deuils.

The outwarde Atheist (contrariwise), with those thinges that proceede from his mouth, defileth hys hart; He establisheth reason as his God, and will not be perswaded that 15 God (the true God) is, except he make him priuie to al the P 4 secrecies of his beginning & gouern-|ment. Straightly he will examine hym where hee was, what he did, before he created Heauen and Earth; how it is possible he shoulde haue his beeing from before all beginnings. Euery circum- 20 stance of his prouidence hee will runne thorough, and question why he did not thys thing, and that thing, and the other thing, according to theyr humors?

Beeing earthlie bodies (vnapt to ascende), in theyr ambitious cogitation they will breake ope and ransacke hys 25 Closet: and if (conueniently) they may not come to it, then they wil derogate and depraue him all they can. Little doe they consider that, as the lyght which shined before *Paul* made hym blinde, so the lyght of Gods inuisible misteries (if euer it shyne in our harts) will con- 30 found and blind our carnall reason.

Phylosophies chiefe fulnesse, wisedoms adopted Father next vnto *Salomon*, vnsatiable Arte-searching *Aristotle*, that in the rounde compendiate bladder of thy brayne conglobedst these three great bodies (Heauen, Earth, and 35 the wide worlde of Waters), thyne Icarian-soaring comprehension, tossed and turmoyled but about the bounds &

beginning of *Nilus*, in *Nilus* drownd it selfe, being too sely and feeble to plunge thorow it.

If knowledges second *Salomon* had not knowledge enough to engraspe one Riuer, and alledge probabilitie of hys 5 beginning and bounding, who shall engraspe or bound the Heauens body? Nay, what soule is so metaphusicall subtile, that can humorously sirenize heauens soule, *Iehouah*, out of the concealements of hys Godhead? He that is familiar with all earthly states must not thinke to 10 be familiar with the state of Heauen. The very Angels knowe not the day nor houre of the last Iudgement: if they know not the day nor houre of the iudge-|ment, (which P 4v is such a generall thing,) more priuate circumstances of the God-heade (determinately) they are not acquainted with; 15 And if not Angels (his sanctified attendants), much lesse are they reuealed to sinners. Idle-headed Atheist, ill wouldst thou (as the Romans) acknowledge and offer sacrifice to many gods, that wilt not graunt one God. From thy byrth to thys moment of thine vnbeleefe, 20 reuolue the diarie of thy memory, & try if thou hast nere prayd and beene heard: if thou hast beene heard & thy prayer accomplisht, who hath heard thee, who hath accomplisht it? Wilt thou ratifidely affirme that God is no God, because (like a Noune substantiue) thou canst not 25 essentially see him, feele him, or heare him?

Is a Monarche no Monarch, because hee reareth not his resiant Throne amongst his vtmost Subiects? Wee (of all earthlings) are Gods vtmost subiects, the last (in a manner) that he brought to his obedience: shal we then forgette 30 that wee are any subiects of hys, because (as amongst his Angels) he is not visibly conuersant amongst vs? Suppose our Monarche were as farre distanced from vs as Constantinople, yet still he is a Monarche, and his power vndiminished. Indeede so did our Fathers rebel, & forgot they had a 35 King; when *Richard de Corde Lyon* was warring in the Holy-Land, hys owne brother, king *Iohn*, forgot that he had

35 *Richard cuer de Lyon* 13.

a brother, & crownd hymselfe King. But God is not absent, but present continuallie amongst vs, though not in sight yet as a Spirite at our elbowes euery where, (& so delight many Kings to walke disguised amongst theyr subiects.) Hee treades in all our steps, hee plucketh in 5 and letteth out our breath as hee pleaseth, our eyes he openeth and shutteth, our feete hee guideth as he listeth. |

Q 1 Tis nothing but plenty and aboundance that makes men Atheists. Euen as the Snake which the Husbandman tooke out of the cold and cherrisht in his bosome, once 10 attained to her liuely heate againe, & growne fatte and lusty, singled him out as the first whom shee might (vngratefully) enuenoume with her forked sting; So God hauing tooke a number of poore out-casts (farre poorer then poore frost-bitten Snakes) foorth of the colde of 15 scarcity and contempt, and put them in his bosome, cherrisht and prosperd them with all the blessings hee could, they (hauing once plentifully pickt vp theyr crumbes, and that they imagine (without his help) they can stand of themselues) now fall to darting their stings of derision at his 20 face, and finding themselues to bee as great as they can well be amongst men, grow to enuy & extenuate theyr Maker.

A seruaunt that (of nothing) is waxt great vnder hys Maister, if hys Maister looke not to him, proues the greatest enemy he hath: Eftsoones he will draw all men 25 from hym, and vnder-hand disgrace him, to engrosse al in his owne hand. None are so great enemies to God as those that (of smal likelihoods) haue waxt greatest vnder him, and haue most tasted the gracious springs of his prouidence. Oft haue we seene a Begger promoted 30 forgette and renounce his owne naturall Parents: no meruaile then, if these mounted Beggers forgette and wil not acknowledge God, theyr common Parent and foster Father.

I cannot be perswaded any poore man, or man in misery, (be he not altogether desperate of hys estate,) is an Atheist. 35 Misery (mauger theyr hearts) will make them confesse God.

8 maketh *13*. 12 as] at *13*.

Who heareth the thunder, that thinkes not of God? I would know who is more feareful to die, | or dies with more Q 1v terror and afrightment, then an Atheist. Discourse ouer the ends of all Atheists, and theyr deathes for the most 5 parte haue beene drunken, violent, and secluded from repentance. The blacke swuttie visage of the night, and the shadie fancies thereof, assertaines euery guilty soule there is a sinne-hating God.

Howe can Bellowes blowe, except there be one that 10 bindes and first imprisons winde in them? How can fire burne if none first kindle it? How can man breathe, except God puts first the breath of life into hym? Who leadeth the Sunne out of his Chamber, or the Moone forth her clowdy Pauilion, but God? Why dooth not the Sea swallow 15 vp the Earth, (when as it ouer-peeres it, and is greater then it,) but that there is a GOD that snaffles and curbes it?

There is a path which no Foule hath known, neither the Iob, 28 Kytes eyes seene: the Lyon himselfe hath not walkt in it, nor the Lyons whelpes past thereby. Who then knowes 20 it; who is there to trace it? Hath the vast azur'd Canopy nothing aboue it, where-vnto it is perpendicular knit? then why doe not all thinges wheele and swarue topsie-turuy? Why breake not thunder-bolts through the Clowdes in steade of thrids of rayne? Why are not Frost and Snow vn-25 cessantly in Armes against the Summer?

The excellent compacture of mans bodie is an argument of force enough to confirme the Deity.

O why should I but squintingly glance at these matters, when they are so admirably expatiated by auncient Writers? 30 In the *Resolution* most notably is thys tractate enlarged. He which peruseth that, & yet is * *Diagoriz'd*, will neuer be * Diag[oras] primus Deos negans. Christianiz'd. Vniuersity men that are called to preache at the Crosse and the Court, Arme your | selues against nothing Q 2 but Atheisme, meddle not so much with Sects & forraine 35 opinions, but let Atheisme be the onely string you beate on; for there is no Sect now in *England* so scattered as

29 expiated *13*, *Gro.*

Atheisme. In vayne doe you preach, in vayne doe you teach, if the roote that nourisheth all the branches of security be not thorowly digd vp from the bottome. You are not halfe so wel acquainted as them that lyue continually about the Court and Citty, how many followers 5 this damnable paradoxe hath: how many high wits it hath bewitcht. Where are they, that count a little smattring in liberall Artes & the reading ouer the Bible with a late Comment, sufficient to make a Father of Diuines? What wyll their * disalowed Bible or late Comments helpe them, 10 if they haue no other reading to resist Atheists? Atheists if euer they be confuted, with theyr owne prophane Authors they must be confuted.

* Disalowed by Atheists.

I am at my wits end, when I view how coldly, in comparison of other Countrimen, our *Englishmen* write. How, 15 in theyr Bookes of confutation, they shew no wit or courage, as well as learning. In all other things *English* men are the stoutest of all others, but beeing Schollers, and lyuing in their owne natiue soyle, theyr braines are so pesterd with full platters, that they haue no roome to bestirre them. 20 Fie, fie, shall we, because we haue Leade and Tynne Mynes in *England*, haue Leade and Tynne Muses? For shame, bury not your spyrits in Biefe-pots. Let not the *Italians* call you dul-headed *Tramontani*. So many Dunces in Cambridge and Oxford are entertayned as chiefe members into 25 societies, vnder pretence, though they haue no great learning, yet there is in them zeale and Religion, that scarce the least hope is left vs, we should haue any heereafter but Q 2v blockes and Images, | to confute blocks and Images. That of *Terence* is oraculiz'd, *Patres æquum censere nos adolescentulos ilico a pueris fieri senes.* Our Fathers are now growne 30 to such austeritie, as they would haue vs straite of chyldren to become old-men. They will allowe no time for a gray bearde to grow in. If at the first peeping out of the shell a young Student sets not a graue face on it, or seemes not 35

17 *Englishmen 13.* 25 as] *om. 13.* 30 *Patris 93, 94. Corr. in Errata.* 33–4 gray-bearde *93, 94.*

mortifiedly religious, (haue he neuer so good a witte, be hee neuer so fine a Scholler,) he is cast of and discouraged. They sette not before theyr eyes how all were not called at the first houre of the day, for then had none of vs euer
5 beene called. That not the first sonne that promised his Father to goe into the Vineyarde went, but hee that refused and sayd he would not, went. That those blossomes which peepe foorth in the beginning of the Spring, are frost-bitten and die ere they can come to be fruite. That religion
10 which is soone rype, is soone rotten.

Too abortiue, reuerend Academians, doe you make your young plants. Your preferment (following the outward appearance) occasioneth a number of young hypocrites, who else had neuer knowne any such sinne as dissimulation, and
15 had beene more knowne to the Common-wealth. It is onely ridiculous dul Preachers (who leape out of a Library of Catechismes, into the loftiest Pulpits) that haue reuiued thys scornefull Secte of Atheists. What Kings embassage would be made account of, if it should be deliuered by a
20 meacocke and an ignorant? Or if percase he send variety of Embassadors, and not two of them agree in one tale, but be deuided amongst themselues, who will harken to them? Such is the deuision of Gods Embassadors heere amongst vs, so many cow-baby-bawlers and heauy-gated lumberers |
25 into the Ministry are stumbled, vnder thys Colledge or that Q 3 Halls commendation, that a great number had rather heare a iarring blacke-sant, then one of theyr balde Sermons.

They boldly will vsurpe *Moyses* chayre, without anie study or preparation. They would haue theyr mouthes
30 reuerenced as the mouthes of the *Sybils*, who spoke nothing but was registred; Yet nothing comes from theyr mouthes but grosse full-stomackt tautology. They sweat, they blunder, they bounce & plunge in the Pulpit, but all is voyce and no substance: they deafe mens eares, but not edifie.
35 Scripture peraduenture they come of thicke and three-folde

11 Too . . . doe] *So punctuated in 13*: Too abortiue reuerend Academians, doe *93, 94, Gro.* 34 and] but *13*.

with, but it is so vgly daubed, plaistred, and patcht on, so peeuishly speckt & applyde, as if a Botcher (with a number of Satten and Veluette shreddes) should cloute and mend Leather-doublets & Cloth-breeches.

Gette you some witte in your great heades, my hotte-spurd 5 Diuines, discredite not the Gospell: if you haue none, damme vp the Ouen of your vttrance, make not such a bigge sound with your empty vessels. At least, loue men of witte, and not hate them so as you doe, for they haue what you want. By louing them and accompanying with them, you shall 10 both doe them good and your selues good; They of you shall learne sobriety and good life, you of them shal learne to vtter your learning, and speake mouinglie.

If you count it prophane to arte-enamel your speech to empeirce, and make a conscience to sweeten your tunes to 15 catch soules, Religion (through you) shal reape infamy. Men are men, and with those thinges must bee mooued, that men wont to be mooued. They must haue a little Q 3v Sugar mixt with their soure Pylls of reproofe; the | hookes must be pleasantly baited that they bite at. Those that 20 hang forth theyr hookes and no bayte, may well enough entangle them in theweeds, (enwrap themselues in contentions,) but neuer winne one soule. Turne ouer the auncient Fathers, and marke howe sweete and honny-some they are in the mouth, and how musicall & melodious in the eare. No Orator 25 was euer more pleasingly perswasiue then humble Saint *Augustine*. These Atheists (with whom you are to encounter) are speciall men of witte. The Romish Seminaries haue not allured vnto them so many good wits as Atheisme. It is the superaboundance of witte that makes Atheists: wil you 30 then hope to beate them down with fusty brown-bread dorbellisme? No, no, either you must straine your wits an Ela aboue theyrs, and so entice them to your preachings, and ouer-turne them, or els with disordred hayle-shotte of Scriptures shall you neuer scare them. 35

Skyrmishing with Atheistes, you must behaue your selues

33 oboue *93, 94*.

as you were conuerting the Gentiles. All antique hystories you must haue at your fingers-end. No Phylosophers confession or opinion of God that you are to be ignorant in. Ethnicks with their own Ethnick weapons you must as-
5 sayle. Infinite laborinths of bookes he must runne thorough, that will be a compleate Champion in Christs Church. Let not sloth-fauouring innouation abuse you. Christ when he sayd, *You must forsake all and follow him*, meant not you should forsake all Artes and follow him.

10 *Luke* was a Physition and followed him. Physitions are the onely vp-holders of humaine Artes. *Paule* was a Pharisie, & brought vp in all the knowledge of the Gentiles, and yet he was an Apostle of Iesus Christ. Though it pleased our louing crucified Lord, during his
15 residence | heere vppon earth, myraculously to inspyre Q 4 poore Fishermen, and disgregate his gifts from the ordinarie meanes, yet since his Ascention into heauen, meanelesse miracles are ceased. Certaine meanes hee hath assigned vs, which he hath promised to blesse, but without means
20 no blessing hath he warrantizd.

When the deuill woulde haue had him of stones to make Bread, he woulde in no kinde consent: no more will hee consent of blockes and stones in these dayes, to make distributers of the Bread of lyfe. What are Asses that will
25 take vppon them to preach without gyfts, but Bread made of stones? Euen as God sayde vnto *Adam*, *Hee should gette or earne his Breade with the sweate of hys browes*, so they that wil haue heauenly Bread enough to feede themselues and a family, (which is a Congregation or flocke,)
30 must earne it and gette it with the sweate of their browes, with long labour, study, & industry, toile and search after it.

No one Arte is there, that hath not some dependance vpon another, or to whose toppe or perfection we may climbe without steppes or degrees of the other. Humaine Artes are
35 the steppes and degrees Christ hath prescribed and assign'd vs, to climbe vp to heauen of Artes by, which is Diuinity.

7 sloth fauouring *93, 94*. 36 *Qy. read* to the heauen ?

He can neuer climbe to the toppe of it, which refuseth to climbe by these steppes. No knowledge but is of God. Vnworthy are wee of heauenly knowledge, if we keepe from her any one of her hand-maydes. Logique, Rethorique, History, Phylosophy, Musique, Poetry, all are the hand- 5 maides of Diuinitie. Shee can neuer be curiously drest or exquisitely accomplisht, if any one of these be wanting.

God delighteth to be magnified in all his Creatures, especially in all the excellentest of his Creatures. Artes | Q 4v are the excellentest of hys Creatures, not one of them but 10 Psalm 148. descended from his Throne. What sayth *Dauid*? *Prayse the Lord, Sunne & Moone, prayse him, ye bright stars, prayse him, heauen of heauens, and waters that be aboue the heauens.* That is, prayse the Lorde, Metaphusicall Phylosophy, which art conuersant in all these matters. Into the 15 maiestie and glory of the Sunne and Moone thou seest, the bright Starres predominance and moouing thou knowst, the heauen of heauens, and waters that be aboue the heauens, (in part though not at large) thou comprehendest: therefore prayse him in all these. Take occasion (Preachers, 20 in your Sermons) from the wonders and secretes these include, to extoll his magnificent Name, and by humaine Arts abstracts to glorifie hym. *Prayse ye the Lord*, (thus *Dauid* proceedes,) *yee Dragons and all deepes, Fyre, Hayle, Snow, and vapours, stormy winds and tempests, execute his* 25 *word. Mountaines & hils, fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beasts and Cattell, creeping thinges and feathered foules: Princes and Iudges of the world, young men and Maydens, olde men and chyldren, prayse yee the Name of the Lord.*

So that it is lawfull, to execute his worde, that is, in 30 preaching of his word, by similitudes and comparisons drawne from the nature & property of all these, to laude and amplifie the eternity of his Name. Christ, he drewe comparisons from the hayres of a mans head, from vineyards, from Fig-trees, from Sparrowes, from Lillies and a hundred 35 such like. Wee (in this age) count him a Heathen Diuine,

17–8 moouing, thou knowest the heauen *13*. 21–2 these to include *13*.

that alleadgeth any illustration out of humaine Authors, & makes not al his sermons concloutments of Scripture.

Scripture we hotch-potch together, & doe not place it like Pearle and Gold-lace on a garment, heere & there | 5 to adorne, but pile it and dunge it vp on heapes, without R 1 vse or edification. We care not howe we mispeake it, so we haue it to speake. Out it flyes East and West; though we loose it all it is nothing, for more haue we of it then we can well tell what to doe withall. Violent are 10 the most of our packe-horse Pulpit-men in vomiting theyr duncery. Their preachings seeme rather pestilential frenzies then any thing els. They writhe Texts lyke waxe, and where they enuie, Scripture is theyr Champion to scold, and though a whole month together so they should scold, 15 they woulde not want allegations to cast in one anothers teeth. *Non fuit sic a principio*, I wis it was not so in the Primitiue church, but in our Church euery man will be a primate, euery man will be Lord & King ouer the flock that he feedes, or else he will famish it. Thys is erring from 20 my scope: of the true vse of the Scripture I am to talke.

Scripture, if it be vsed otherwise then as the last seale to confirme any thing, if it be triuially or without necessitie cald vnto witnesse, it is a flatte taking of the Name of God in vaine. The phrase of Sermons, as it ought to agree 25 with the Scripture, so heede must be taken, that theyr whole Sermons seeme not a banquet of broken fragments of Scripture: that it be not vsd but as the corner stone, to close vp any building; That they gather fruite and not leaues, proofes and not phrases onely, out of the Bible. 30 As in battaile we vse the weapons and Engines of all Nations, so embattailing our selues against sinne, we must vse the weapons and Arts of all Nations: Scripture must be reserued as the last volley of the victorie. It is the great Ordinaunce which must play vppon our enemies 35 in the end & chiefe hazarde of the fight. If we refuse, with *Demosthenes*, to reserue all our weightie | arguments till R 1v

3 it] *om.* *13*. 20 of scripture *13*.

the latter end, like the French-men wee shall fight valiantly at the first, but quaile in the midst.

Scripture is the chiefe power of GOD to saluation. Generals, in a pitcht fielde, will not thrust foorth theyr chiefe power first. By little and little, they will trayne theyr enemy 5 out of order with light onsettes. Hee that will ascend, must from the low valleys creepe vp hygher and higher; with one caper or iumpe is not the Mountaine of Theology to be scaled. This is it, I contende, that Starres haue theyr thrones of illumination allotted them in the Firmament, as 10 well as the Sunne & Moone: that humaine writers haue theyr vse of reprouing vices, as well as the Scriptures. It is an easie matter to prayse God in that wherein hee hath placed the especiall state-house of his praises. Hee which out of the barrainest and barest parts of his Lords dominion shall 15 accumulate and leuy to his Treasury a greater tribute then he hath out of his richest Prouinces, shall hee not (of all other) doe him the most remunerablest seruice? Malicious and maleuolent are they that will exclude any one Arte, or Athenian or Romane Author, any one creeping worme 20 or contemptible creature, from bearing witnesse of GOD.

Paule alleaged diuers verses out of Heathen Poets, as out of *Epemenides*, *Aratus*, *Menander*, *Theocritus*: nay, what place is it in the Scripture, where the holie Ghost doth not stoope himselfe to our capacities, by humaine Metaphors & 25 similitudes? Our Atheist we haue in hand, with nothing but humaine reasons will bee rebutted. Vaunt you yee speake from the holy Ghost neuer so, if you speake not in compasse of his fiue sences, hee will despise you, and floute you. He hearing euery one (that in the Pulpit talkes 30 R 2 affectedly, coldly, crabbedly, or ab-|surdly,) say, Hee talkes from the mouth of God, makes both an obloquy of Gods mouth and the Ministrie. But ill shall his scoffes prosper with him; When hee thinks he hath wonne the greatest prize to his witte, in putting downe God, God in iudgement 35 shall arise and reproue him. At the day of death, and at the day of iudgement, hee shall reprooue him; sight-

killingly with his clusterd browes and clowde-begetting frownes, he shall teache him, both that he is, and what he is.

Reuerend Ecclesiasticall Fathers, and other speciall-titled 5 Church substitutes, you it concerneth; your kingdome (by these Atheists) is called in question, in calling Gods kingdome in question. Prosecute with all your authority these *Porphirian* deriders. Imitate the Athenians, who committed *Anaxagoras* to pryson, and, but for *Pericles*, had put 10 him to death, for writing but a Booke of the Moones eclipses, after by them shee was receiued for a Goddesse. If they so farre pursued the disgrace of a feygned Goddesse, be you twise as zealous in reuenging the disparagement of the true and euer-lyuing God.

15 Proclaime disputations, threaten punishments, bee vehement in your Sermons; whatsoeuer you write or speake, intende it against Atheisme. Atheisme hath ouer-spread vs; our ouer-throw, your ouer-throwe, it will be, except (in time) you preuent it. Fall *England*, farewell peace, woe-20 worth our Weale and tranquillitie, if Religion bids vs farewell. Our house shall be left desolate vnto vs, for Christ of vs is left desolate and forsaken.

The fourth sonne of Pryde is Discontent, which whomsoeuer it thoroughly enhabiteth, it carrieth cleane away to 25 extreames. If it light on a poore man that hath | no R 2v meanes to prosecute it, it cutteth him of presentlie. If on a man of puissance, (be he not more then mother-witted circumspect,) to him and his family it is no lesse fatall. Generally it is grounded on pryde, as when a man taketh 30 vnto him a minde aboue his byrth or fortune, and is not able to goe through with it. When hee hath resolued to prize himselfe thus great, and so great, & some man (as proude as himselfe) comes and vnderbids him, and outbraues him. And thirdly, when (on iust demerits) hee hath 35 builded but meane hopes, and those not onely die in the dust, but hys iust demerits indignly draw vnto him vniust hatred. For such is great mens manner; any one that is

troublesome to them, or that they are indebted to, and cannot well recompence, they come to hate deadly.

There is a Discontent proceeding from a natural melancholie humour, or caused by surfet or misdiet. Some by ouer-studying come to be discontent and dogged. I haue 5 knowne many whom shrewd or light huswiues to theyr wiues, vnthrift obstinate chyldren, sutes in Lawe ouer-ruled by Letters from aboue, haue caused to languish and droupe away in discontent. The fruites of Discontent are bannings, cursings, secrete murmurings, out-rage, murder, iniustice, 10 all which are high treasonous trespasses against God.

The deuill is the Father of Discontent. One of the greatest miseries of the damned shall be discontent. Nothing so much prouoketh God to iudgement as discontent. Hee destroyed the chyldren of Israell whiles the meate 15 was in their mouthes, in the Wildernes, for murmuring or being discontent: theyr discontent was sayd to afflict him. Many a tyme and oft haue they afflicted me, euen from my R 3 youth vp, saith *Dauid* in Gods person, | speaking of theyr repyning at the waters of strife. Therfore whosoeuer is dis- 20 content with any crosse or calamitie the Lord layeth vppon him, afflicteth God, and must looke for speedy confusion. Nothing in this life reuengeth he so much as it. Hence it is so many stabbe, hang, and drowne themselues, and thereby endaunger theyr own soules beyond mercy. It 25 is the grieuousest sentence God can pronounce against man, as to be his owne Executioner: whereby it appeareth that Discontent is the grieuousest sinne that man can commit.

When did you euer heare of any but the discontented 30 man, that offered violence to himselfe? What is the sinne against the holy Ghost, (which *Augustine* concludeth to be nothing but *Desperatio morientis*, to gyue vp a mans soule in despayre,) but a speciall branch of discontent? Wherfore did our Sauiour thunder foorth such a terrible woe 35 against the causers of offence, or discontent, but that it was

1 are] were *13*. 18–9 Many . . . vp] *Ital. in 13*.

the most heynous scourge-procuring transgression of all others?

Ionas, the Lords annoynted Prophet, for he was dyscontent, and grudged when he should haue beene sent vnto
5 *Niniui*, had a torment like hel (for the time) inflicted vpon hym. In the Whales belly, full of horror, dispaire, stinche, and darknes, three dayes and three nights hee was shut. Hardly can GOD abstaine from throwing any man downe into Hell, that is vpbraidingly dyscontent. As the merry
10 man (of all other) best thriueth in that he goes about, so the discontented man (of all other) is most fore-spoken and vnluckie in hys enterprises. Fewe discontented men shall you obserue, that gyue vp the ghost in theyr bedds.

There is a Discontent contrary to Pryde, which is most
15 pleasing to GOD: which is when a man grieues | and is R 3v discontent, because he cannot chuse but sinne and rebell against God. As also when he is wearied and discontent with the vanities of the world. So was the *Preacher*, when he cryed, *Vanity of vanities, & all thing is vanitie.*

20 There is a tollerable Discontent likewise, which *Dauid* and *Iob* had, when they complayned that the Tabernacles of Robbers did prosper, and they were in safetie that prouokt God. But so little of this true discontent is there in *London*, that (almost) there is no content in it, but in
25 robbing and prouoking God. *Sinne is no sin*, (saith an auncient Father,) *except it be voluntary, and wee take a content in committing it.* Who is there that oppresseth, committeth adultery, is prodigall, sweareth, or forsweareth, but taketh a content in committing it? There wee place content,
30 where we should take vp discontent, and there are we discontent, where wee shoulde repose our whole gladnes and felicity. We are discontent if wee heare our sinnes rypt vp sharply. We are discontent if we be detained in the seruice of God but halfe an houre extraordinary. We are discon-
35 tent if we be constrained to gyue to the poore. Euery man heere in *London* is discontent with the state wherein

17 As also] Also *13*. 19 *thing*[*s*] *is Gro.*

hee liues. Euery one seeketh to vndermine another. No two of one trade, but as they are of one trade, enuy one another. Not two conioyned in one office, but ouerwhart & emulate one another, and one of them vndoes what the other hath done. 5

The Court is the true kingdom of discontent. There Pryde raigning most, Discontent cannot chuse but be a hanger on. No conspiracie or warre (ciuil or outward) but first springeth from dyscontent. What makes a number R 4 of our wanton wiues in *London* conspyre the | deaths of 10 theyr old doting husbands, but the discontent of a death-cold bed? Dyscontent makes Hereticks. Discontent is the cause of all the Traytors beyond Sea. Discontent caused *Ierusalems* house to be left desolate vnto her. Dyscontent (ô *London*) will be thy destitution, if thou takest 15 not the better heede.

The fift Sonne of Pryde is Contention, which beeing the youngest sonne hee hath, is harder to bee yoked or kept in, then any of the other foure. It is euer in Armes, neuer out of brabblements. Looke what Ambition, Vaine-glory, 20 Atheisme, Discontent, shal consult or deuise, it enacteth and goes thorowe with. It is the Lawyers lyuing, the Hereticks foode, the Swizers house and Lande. No Crowne but hee challengeth a share in. No Church but hee will be of. On words, amphibologies, æquiuocations, quiddities and 25 quantities, he stands. Hee hunteth not aftertruth, but strife. He coueteth not so much to ouer-come, as contend.

These two lyttle words, *Ex* and *Per*, (as *Cornelius Agrippa* hath obserued,) held the Greeke & Latine Churches play, many yeeres together; they litigiously debating, 30 whether the holy Ghost proceeded of the Father and the Sonne, or not of the Sonne, but of the Father by the Sonne. So thys word *Nisi* in thys sentence, *Nisi manducaueritis carnem*, sette all the Counsayle of *Basill* in an vproare. Thys word *Donec*, as, *Ioseph non agnouit vxorem suam donec*, 35 *Ioseph* knewe not hys wife *vntill*, caused the *Antidicomaria-*

3 ouerthwart *13*. 36 *Qy. read 'Antidicomarianitans'?*

tans and *Eluidians* to denie the perpetuall virginity of the Virgine *Mary*. With a thousand such errors, Contention rayseth his Kingdome.

Our Diuines in these dayes (though they yet retaine 5 many contentions of the olde Churches) haue founde out certaine newe ones of theyr owne. They contende | about R 4v standing and sitting, about formes & substances, about prescription and confusion of prayers. They argue, *An ater sit contrarius albo*, whether it bee better to weare a white 10 Surplesse, or a black gowne, in ministring the Sacraments. Which is like the conflict in Rome betwixt the *Augustine* Fryers and the vulgar Chanons, whether *Augustine* did weare a blacke Weede vppon a white Coate, or a white Weede vppon a blacke Coate. Lyke the Geometritians, 15 they square about poynts and lynes, and the vtter shew of things. As, this poynt is too-long, thys poynt is too-short, thys figure is too-much affected, thys lyne runnes not smooth, thys sillogisme limpeth. As Preachers, they labour not to speake properly, but intricately. In steade of Bread, 20 they gyue the chyldren of theyr Ministry stones to throwe at one another; and in stead of Fish, Serpents to sting one another. In the 13. of *Mathew*, the Sower that went forth to sow, scattered some seede by the High-way side, which the Foules of the ayre peckt vp; not vnlike to them 25 whose Hawkes and Field-sports peck vp all the seedes of Christianity that should be sowne in theyr harts, And a myllion of others, whose eyes the Foules of the valley pecke out, before the seede of saluation can haue any rooting in theyr soules.

30 Other seede the Sower scattred amongst stones, and, the Sunne arising, it withered for want of earth, resembling these stony streetes of *London*, where nothing will spring vp but oppression, auarice, and infidelity. Other seede he disperst amongst thornes, and the thornes crept aloft and 35 choked it. To those thornes I compare these thorny Contentioners, that choake the Word of God with foolish

1 *Eludians Q.*

controuersies and friuolous questions. Euen as the spyrite
S 1 ledde our Sauiour aside into the Wil-|dernesse to bee
tempted, so are there wicked spyrits of Contention amongst
vs, that leade men aside into the woods and solitary places
to be tempted. Let any (bee he the veriest block-head 5
vnder heauen) raise vp a faction, and he shall be followd
& supported. Englishmen are al for innouatiõ, they are
cleane spoiled if once in 20. yeres they haue not a new
fashion of religion. Somtimes *Vitia sunt ad virtutem
occasio*, Contention is the occasion of seeking out the 10
truth: but our Contentions (for the most part) are the
seeking to proue truth, no truth, after shee is once founde
out: and preferring probability before manifest verity.
We will not try her by her Peeres, (which are the best
expositers,) and auncient Fathers, but by the litterall Law, 15
eyther not expounded, or newe expounded, without any
Quest of Church decretals or Cannons.

Were it not that in reprouing Contention I might haply
seeme contentious, I woulde wade a little farther in thys sub-
iect. Yet it were to no end, since fire, the more it is styrred 20
vppe, the more it burneth; and heresie, the more it is stird
and stroue with, the more vntoward it is. Nought but sharpe
discipline is a fitte disputant with snarling Scismatiques.
The Israelites, for they rooted not out the remnant of the
Gentile Nations frõ amongst them, they were as goades in 25
theyr sides, and thornes in their nostrils: so if wee roote not
out these remnants of Scismatiques from amongst vs, they
will be as goades in our sides, and thornes in our nostrils.
Melius est vt pereat vnus, quam vt pereat vnitas: It is better
that some fewe perrish, then vnity perrish. 30

London, beware of Contention; thou art counted the
nursing-mother of Contention. No Sect or Scisme but
thou affordest Disciples to. If thou beest too greedie of |
S 1v innouation and contention, the sword of inuasion and
ciuill debate shall leaue thy house desolate vnto thee. 35

Nowe come I to the Daughters of Pryde, whereof Dis-
daine is the eldest.

Disdayne is a vice in comparison of which Ambition is a vertue. It is the extreame of Ambition. It is a kind of scorne, that scorneth to be compared to any other thing. None are more subiect vnto it then fayre women, for they
5 disdaine any one shoulde be helde as fayre as they. They disdaine any should goe before them, or sit aboue them. They disdayne any shoulde be brauer then they, or haue more absolute pennes entertaynd in theyr prayses then they. Thys woman disdaines any but she should carry
10 the credite of wit: another, that any shoulde sing so sweet as shee; a thyrd, that any should sette forth the porte and maiestie in gate and behauiour like vnto her. Onely for disdaine and preheminence, theyr Husbands and theyr Loues they draw sundry times into neuer dated quarrels.

15 Such disdayne and scorne was betwixt the wiues of *Iacob, Rachell* and *Leah*, because the one had chyldren, and the other none. Such disdayne was betwixt *Sarah* and *Hagar*. There was a disdaine or shouldring amongst the Disciples, who should be greatest. *Josephs* Brethren disdained theyr
20 Father should loue hym better then he did them. *Diues* disdayned *Lazarus*. In *London*, the ritch disdayne the poore. The Courtier the Cittizen. The Cittizen the Countriman. One Occupation disdayneth another. The Merchant the Retayler. The Retayler the Craftsman.
25 The better sort of Craftsmen the baser. The Shoomaker the Cobler. The Cobler the Carman. One nyce Dame disdaynes her next neighbour shoulde haue that furniture to her house, or dainty dishe or deuise, | which she wants. S 2 Shee will not goe to Church, because shee disdaines to
30 mixe herselfe with base company, and cannot haue her close Pue by herselfe. Shee disdaines to weare that euery one weares, or heare that Preacher which euery one heares. So did *Ierusalem* disdaine Gods Prophets, because they came in the likenesse of poore men. Shee disdayned
35 *Amos*, because he was a keeper of Oxen, as also the rest, **Amos, 1.** for they were of the dregges of the people; But theyr

18 or] of *13*.

disdayne prosperd not with thē, theyr house, for theyr disdayne, was left desolate vnto them.

London, thy house, (except thou repents,) for thy dysdayne, shall be left desolate vnto thee.

The second Daughter of Pryde is Gorgeous attyre. 5 Both the Sonnes and Daughters of Pride delight to goe gorgeously. As *Democritus* sette vp hys brasen shield against the Sunne, to the intent that (continually gazing on it) he might with the bright reflection of his beamy radiation seare out hys eyes and see no more vanities, 10 so sette they theyr ritch embroydred sutes against the Sunne, to dazle, daunt, and spoyle poore mens eyes that looke vpon them. Lyke Idols, not men, they apparraile themselues. Blocks and stones by the Panims & Infidels are ouer-gilded, to be honored and worshipped: so ouer- 15 gilde they themselues, to bee more honoured and worshipped.

The women would seeme Angels heere vpon earth, for which (it is to be feared) they will scarce lyue wyth the Angels in heauen. The ende of Gorgeous attyre (both in men and women) is but more fully to enkindle fleshly 20 concupiscence, to assist the deuill in lustful temptations. Men thinke that women (seeing them so sumptuously S 2v pearled & bespangled) cannot chuse but offer | to tender theyr tender soules at theyr feete. The weomen, they thinke that (hauing naturally cleere beauty, scortchingly 25 blazing, which enkindles any soule that comes neere it, and adding more Bauines vnto it of lasciuious embolstrings) men should euen flash their harts (at first sight) into the purified flames of theyr faire faces.

Euer since *Euah* was tempted, and the Serpent preuailed 30 with her, weomen haue tooke vpon them both the person of the tempted and the tempter. They tempt to be tempted, and not one of them, except she be tempted, but thinkes herselfe contemptible. Vnto the greatnesse of theyr great Grand-mother *Euah*, they seeke to aspire, 35 in being tempted and tempting. If not to tempt and be

16 themſelues *93, 94*. 35 theyr] her *93, 94*. *Corr. in Errata*.

thought worthy to be tempted, why dye they & diet they theyr faces with so many drugges as they doe, as it were to correct Gods work-manship, and reprooue him as a bungler, and one that is not his crafts Maister? Why
5 ensparkle they theyr eyes with spiritualiz'd distillations? Why tippe they theyr tongues with *Aurum potabile*? Why fill they vp ages frets with fresh colours? Euen as Roses and flowers in Winter are preserued in close houses vnder earth, so preserue they their beauties by
10 continuall lying in bed.

Iust to Dinner they will arise, and after Dinner goe to bedde againe, and lye vntill Supper. Yea, sometimes (by no sicknes occasioned) they will lye in bedde three dayes together: prouided euery morning before foure
15 a clock, they haue theyr brothes & theyr Cullises, with Pearle and Gold sodden in them. If haply they breake theyr houres and rise more earlie to goe a banquetting, they stande practising halfe a day with theyr Looking-glasses, howe to peirce and to glaunce and looke allu-|
20 ringly amiable. Theyr feete are not so wel framed to S 3 the Measures, as are theyr eyes to moue and bewitch. Euen as Angels are painted in Church-windowes with glorious golden fronts besette with Sunne-beames, so beset they theyr fore-heads on eyther side with glorious
25 borrowed gleamy bushes; which, rightly interpreted, shold signifie beauty to sell, since a bushe is not else hanged forth but to inuite men to buy. And in *Italy*, when they sette any Beast to sale, they crowne his heade with Garlands, and be-deck it with gaudy blossoms, as full as euer it may
30 stick.

Theyr heads, with theyr top and top gallant Lawne baby-caps, and Snow-resembled siluer curlings, they make a playne Puppet stage of. Theyr breasts they embuske vp on hie, and theyr round Roseate buds immodestly lay
35 foorth, to shew at theyr handes there is fruite to be hoped. In theyr curious Antick-wouen garments, they imitate

2 face *13*. 31–2 Lawne-baby caps *Q*.

and mocke the Wormes and Adders that must eate them. They shew the swellings of their mind, in the swellings and plumpings out of theyr apparrayle. Gorgeous Ladies of the Court, neuer was I admitted so neere any of you, as to see how you torture poore olde Time with spunging, 5 pynning, and pounsing; but they say, his sicle you haue burst in twaine, to make your Periwigs more eleuated arches of.

I dare not meddle with yee, since the Phylosopher that too intentiuely gaz'd on the starres stumbled & fell into 10 a ditch; and many gazing too immoderatly on our earthly starres, fal in the end into the ditch of all vncleannesse. Onely thys humble caueat let me giue you by the way, that you looke the deuill come not to you in the likenes of a Tayler or Painter; that howe euer you disguise your 15 S 3v bodies, you lay not on your colours so thick | that they sincke into your soules. That your skinnes being too white without, your soules be not al black within.

It is not your pinches, your purles, your floury iaggings, superfluous enterlacings, and puffings vppe, that can any 20 way offend God, but the puffings vppe of your soules, which therein you expresse. For as the byting of a bullet is not that which poysons the bullet, but the lying of the Gunpowder in the dint of the byting: so it is not the wearing of costly burnisht apparraile that shall be obiected 25 vnto you for sinne, but the pryde of your harts, which (like the Moath) lyes closely shrouded amongst the thrids of that apparraile. Nothing els is garish apparraile, but Prydes vlcer broken forth. How will you attyre your selues, what gowne, what head-tyre will you put on, when 30 you shall lyue in Hell amongst Hagges and deuils?

As many iagges, blysters, and scarres, shall Toades, Cankers, and Serpents, make on your pure skinnes in the graue, as nowe you haue cuts, iagges, or raysings, vpon your garments. In the marrow of your bones snakes shall 35 breede. Your morne-like christall countenaunces shall be

4 of Court *13*. 14 that thou looke *13*. 21 puffing *13*. 34 vp on *93, 94*.

netted ouer and (Masker-like) cawle-visarded with crawling venomous wormes. Your orient teeth Toades shall steale into theyr heads for pearle; Of the ielly of your decayed eyes shall they engender them young. In theyr
5 hollowe Caues, (theyr transplendent iuyce so pollutionately employd,) shelly Snayles shall keepe house.

O, what is beauty more then a wind-blowne bladder, that it should forget whereto it is borne? It is the foode of cloying-concupiscence, lyuing, and the substaunce of the
10 most noysome infection, beeing dead. The Mothers | of S 4 the iustest men are not freed from corruption, the Mothers of Kings and Emperours are not freed frõ corruption. No gorgeous attire (man or woman) hast thou in thys world, but the wedding garment of fayth. Thy winding-sheete
15 shall see thee in none of thy silks or shyning robes; To shew they are not of God, when thou goest to God, thou shalt lay them all of. Then shalt thou restore to euery creature what thou hast robd him of. All the Leases which dust let out to life, at the day of death shall be returned
20 againe into his hands. In skinnes of beastes *Adam* and *Eue* were clothed; in nought but thyne owne skinne at the day of Iudgement shalt thou be clothed. If thou beest more deformed then the age wherin thou diedst shold make thee, the deuil shall stand vp and certifie, that with paynting
25 & phisicking thy visage thou so deformedst it; Wherto God shall reply, What haue I to doe with thee, thou painted sepulcher? Thou hast so differenced & diuorced thy selfe from thy creation, that I know thee not for my creature.

The print of my finger thou hast defaced, and wyth Arts-
30 vanishing varnishment made thy selfe a changeling from the forme I first cast thee in; Sathan, take her to thee, with blacke boyling Pitch rough cast ouer her counterfeite red and white; and whereas she was wont in Asses mylke to bathe her, to engraine her skyn more gentle, plyant,
35 delicate, and supple, in bubling scalding Lead, and fatty flame-feeding Brimstone, see thou vncessantly bathe her.

28 thee not] not thee *13*.

With glowing hote yrons, sindge and sucke vp that adulterized sinfull beauty, where-with she hath branded herselfe to infelicity.

O female pride, this is but the dalliance of thy doome, but the intermissiue recreation of thy torments. The greatnesse of thy paynes I want portentous wordes to | portray. Wherein soeuer thou hast tooke extreame delight and glory, therein shalt thou be plagued with extreame & despiteous malady. For thy flaring frounzed Periwigs lowe dangled downe with loue-locks, shalt thou haue thy head side dangled downe with more Snakes then euer it had hayres. In the moulde of thy braine shall they claspe theyr mouthes, and gnawing through euery parte of thy scull, ensnarle their teeth amongst thy braines, as an Angler ensnarleth his hooke amongst weedes.

For thy rich borders, shalt thou haue a number of discoloured Scorpions rould vp together, and Cockatrices, that kill with their verie sight, shall continually stand spirting fiery poyson in thine eyes. In the hollowe Caue of thy mouth, Basiliskes shall keepe house, & supply thy talke with hyssing when thou striuest to speake. At thy breasts (as at *Cleopatras*), Aspisses shall be put out to nurse. For thy Carcanets of pearle, shalt thou haue Carcanets of Spyders, or the greene venemous flies Cantharides. Hels torments were no torments, if inuention might conceite thẽ. As no eye hath seene, no eare hath heard, no tongue can expresse, no thought comprehend, the ioyes prepared for the Elect, so no eye hath seene, no eare hath heard, no thought can comprehend, the pains prepared for the reiected.

Weomen, as the paines of the deuils shal be doubled, that goe about hourelie tempting, and seeking whom they may deuoure, so except you soone lay holde on grace, your paines in hell (aboue mens) shal be doubled, for millions haue you tempted, millions of men (both in soule & substaunce) haue you deuoured. To you, halfe your husbands damnation (as to *Euah*) will be imputed. Pryde is your naturall sinne; that woman you account as | common, which

is not coy & proude. Woman-head you deeme nothing els but a disdainefull maiesticall cariage. Beeing but a ribbe of man, you will thinke to ouer-rule him you ought to be subiect too. Watch ouer your pathes, looke to your
5 waies, least the Serpent (long since) hauing ouer-maistred one of you, ouer-maister all of you, one after another. Banish Pride from your Bours, and the lineall discents of your other sinnes are cut of; you will seeme Saints and not women. But for you, men woulde nere be so proude, nere
10 care to goe so gorgeously, nere fetch so many newfangles from other Countries; you haue corrupted them, you haue tempted them, halfe of your pride you haue deuided with them. No Nation hath any excesse but they haue made it theirs. Certaine glasses there are, wherein a man seeth
15 the image of another, & not his owne: those glasses are their eyes, for in thẽ they see the image of other Countries, and not their owne. Other Countries fashions they see, but neuer looke backe to the attyre of their fore-fathers, or consider what shape their own Country shold giue them.

20 *Themistocles* put all his felicitie in beeing discended from a noble lynage. *Simonides*, to be well-beloued of his people or Cittizens. *Antistines*, in renowne after hys death. *Englishmen* put all their felicitie in going pompously and garishly: they care not how they impouerish their sub-
25 staunce, to seeme ritch to the outwarde appearaunce. What wise man is there that makes the case or couer of any thing ritcher then the thing it selfe which it containeth or couereth? Our garments (which are cases and couers for our bodies) we compact of Pearle and golde, our bodies
30 themselues are nought but clay and putrifaction. |

If (as the case or couer of any thing keepes it frõ dust or T 1v from soyling) so our costly skinne-cases could keepe vs from consuming to dust, or beeing sinne-soyled, it were some-what: but they (contrariwise) resolue into dust; they
35 are no Armours against old age, but such as are harmed by

10 gorgeously, nere] *Gro.*: gorgeously. Nere *Q.* 22 *Antistines*] *Antisthenes Gro.*

olde age. They weare away with continuaunce, euen as Time doth weare and fore-welke vs; Our soules they keepe not from sinne-soyling, but are the onely instruments so to soile and sinne-eclipse them. They are a second flesh-assisting prison and further corrupting weight of corruption 5 cast on our soules to keepe them from soaring to heauen.

Decke our selues how we will, in all our royaltie, wee cannot equalize one of the Lillies of the fielde; as they wither, so shall we wanze and decay, and our place no more be found. Though our span-long youthly prime blossomes 10 foorth eye-banquetting flowers, though our delicious gleaming features make vs seeme the Sonnes and Daughters of the Graces, though we glister it neuer so in our worme-spunne robes and golde-florisht garments, yet in the graue shall we rotte: from our redolentest refined compositions, 15 ayre pestilenzing stincks and breath-choking poysnous vapours shall issue.

England, the Players stage of gorgeous attyre, the Ape of all Nations superfluities, the continuall Masquer in out-landish habilements, great plenty-scanting calamities art 20 thou to await, for wanton disguising thy selfe against kind, and digressing from the plainnesse of thine Auncesters. Scandalous and shamefull is it, that not anie in thee (Fishermen & Husbandmen set aside) but lyue aboue their ability and birth; That the outward habite (which in other 25 Countries is the only distinction of honour) shoulde yeelde T 2 in thee no difference of persons: | that all thy auncient Nobilitie (almost), with this gorgeous prodigalitie, should be deuoured and eaten vppe, and vp-starts inhabite their stately Pallaces, who from farre haue fetcht in this varietie 30 of pride to entrappe and to spoyle them. Those of thy people that in all other things are miserable, in their apparraile will be prodigal. No Lande can so vnfallibly experience this Prouerbe, *The hoode makes not the Moncke*, as thou; for Tailers, Seruing-men, Make-shifts, and Gentle- 35 men, in thee are confounded. For the compasment of

2 fore-walke *13*. 10 span long *93, 94*. 27 thy] *om. 13*.

brauery, we haue thē will robbe, steale, cosen, cheate, betray theyr owne Fathers, sweare and for-sweare, or doe any thing. Take away brauerie, you kill the hart of lust and incontinencie. Wherefore doe men make themselues braue, but to riot and to reuell? Looke after what state theyr apparraile is, that state they take to them and carry, and after a little accustoming to that carriage, perswade themselues they are such indeede.

Apparraile, more then any thing, bewrayeth his wearers minde. All sorts couet in it to exceede. Olde age I exclude, for that couets nought but gold couetise. None (in a manner) fore-cast for their soules, they suffer them to goe naked, with no good deeds will they cloth them. They let them freeze to death for want of the garment of faith ; they famish and starue them, in not supplying them with ghostly cherishment. O soule, of all humaine parts the most diuinest and soueraignest, of all the rest art thou the most despicable and wretched! Not any part of the bodie but thou consultest and carest for. To euerie part is thy care more auaileable then thy selfe. Impart but the tenths of it on thy selfe, be not more curious of a wimple or spot in thy vesture, then thou art of spotting and thorow-stayning thy deere bought Spyrit with ten | thousand abhominations. T 2v Whiles the good Angell of mercy stirres about the blood-springing Poole of expiation, haste thou to bathe in it. Thou canst not bathe in it effectually, vnlesse thou strippe thy selfe cleane out of the attyre of sinne. All gorgeous attire is the attire of sinne.

The frayle flesh wherein thou art inuested is nothing but a sin-battred Armour, with many strokes of temptations assaulted and brused, to breake in to thee & surpryse thee. Watch & pray, that thou be not supprised. In vaine is thy prayer against sinne, except thou watchest also to preuent sinne. We heere in *London*, what for dressing our selues, following our worldly affayres, dyning, supping, and keeping company, haue no leysure, not onely not to watch against

18 wretched? *Q.* 31 into *13.*

sinne, but not so much as once to thinke of sinne. In bedde, wiues must question their Husbands about house-keeping, and prouiding for their children and familie. No seruice must God expect of vs, but a little in Lent, & in sicknes and aduersity. Our gorgeous attyre we make not 5 to serue him, but to serue the flesh. If he were pleased with it, why did they euer in the old Law, (when they presented themselues before him, in fasting and prayer,) rent it of theyr backs, & put on course Sack-cloth and ashes? No lifting vppe a mans selfe that God likes, but 10 the lifting vp of the Spyrite in prayer.

One thing it is for a man to lift vp himselfe to God, another thing to lift vp himselfe against God. In prancking vp our carcases too proudly, we lift vp our flesh against God. In lifting vp our flesh, we depresse our Spyrits. 15 *London*, lay of thy gorgeous attire, and cast downe thy selfe before God in contrition and prayer, least hee cast thee downe in his indignation into hell-fire. |

T 3 Greeuously hast thou offended, and transgressed against his diuine maiestie, in turning that to pryde which was 20 allotted thee for a punishment. His workmanshyppe thou hast scorned, and counted imperfect without thyne owne additions put to it. Thou hast cõtended to bee a more beautifull Creator and repolisher of thy selfe, then hee. His owne workmanshippe thou hast made him out of loue 25 with, by altering & deforming it at thy pleasure. There is no workman that regardeth or esteemeth his owne workmanship after it is translated and transposed by others. Except thou quickly vndoest and with-drawest all thy ouer-working, he will (in wreakfull recompence that thou hast so disgrac't 30 him) alter thee, deforme thee, translate thee, transpose thee, and leaue thy house desolate vnto thee.

The last Daughter of Pride is Delicacie, vnder which is contained Gluttony, Luxury, Sloth, & Security. But properly, Delicacie is the sinne of our *London* Dames. So 35 delicate are they in their dyet, so dainty and puling fine in theyr speech, so typtoe-nyce in treading on the earth, as

though they walkt vpon Snakes, and feard to treade hard, least they shoulde turne againe. Theyr houses so pickedly and neately must be trickt vp and tapistred, as if (like *Abraham* or *Lot*) they were to receiue Angels: the floare 5 vnder foote, glisteringly rubbed and glased, that a Iew (if he should behold it) would suspect it for Holy ground.

Nothing about them but is wealth-boastingly & elaborately beautified: onely theyr soules they keepe poore and beggerly. *Iob* scrapt his sores with a potshard; if they 10 haue any sore or noysome maladie about them, they will ouer-gilde it, and make it seeme more amiable then any other parte of theyr body. Theyr habitations they | make T 3v so resplendent and pleasurable on earth, that they haue no mind to goe to heauen. Into heauens pleasures they can- 15 not see, for their eyes are dazeled with terrestiall delights. Those that will haue theyr harts thorowlie enflamed with the ioyes of the worlde to come, must place no ioy in this world, nor frame to themselues anie obiect that may too much cõtent. They must haue somthing euer-more to 20 amate and check their felicity, and, wyth Macedon *Phillip*, to remember them of mortalitie.

Delicacy is nought but the art of security, and forgetting mortalitie. It is a kind of Alchymical quintessensing a heauen out of earth. It is the exchaunging of an 25 eternall heauen for a short, momentary, imperfect heauen. Blessed are they that by pining and excruciating theyr bodies, lyue in hell heere on earth, to auoyd the hell neuer ending. Many of the Saints and Martyrs of the Primitiue Church, when they might haue spent theyr daies in all 30 affluence and delicacy, and lyu'd out of gunshot of misery, haue, notwithstanding, tooke vnto them the contemptiblest pouerty that might be.

They haue abandoned all theyr goods and possessions, and in the Wildernesse conuersed with pennury and scarcity, 35 to beate downe and keepe vnder theyr rebellious flesh. Some of them haue drunke puddle water, and fed on the

4 Angels. The *Q*. 12 theyr] they *93*, *94*: the *13*. 15 terrestriall *Gro*.

lothsomest things that might be, to bring their affection out of loue with this transitory infelicitie. Some of them haue grated and rawed theyr smooth tender skinnes with hayre shirts and rough garments, that they might liue in vncessant smart, & take no ease or rest in thys life, where no rest or 5 ease is to be taken vppe, but onely a watch-mans lodge, to soiurne in for a nyght, or such a house as the Moath buildeth in a garment. |

T 4 Others, all naked, on sharpe shreds of broken flint & fragmēts of potsheards, haue spread theyr weary limbes, 10 that lust in theyr sleepe might not assayle them. Holy S. *Ierome*, in the Desert thou builts thee a Cell, to liue out of the haunts of concupiscence, where parched & broiled in Sommer with the raging beames of the Sunne, & quiuering and quaking in Winter, all riueld and weather-beaten with 15 the sharpe dryuing shours & freezing Northren-winde, thou drunkest no kind of liquor but the Ice-chylled water from the cold Fountaine, nor eats any meate but tough dryed rootes. On the bare ground thou lodgedst, and with abstinence and want of sleepe lookedst pale and wanne. 20 Thys didst thou to mortifie thy insurrectiue masse of corruption. This didst thou to teach mortification & sobriety to these licentious times of ours.

No course doe we take to mortifie the Lawe of our members: all mortification we censure by the name of 25 superstition: our fasts are no fasts, but preparatiues to Euening feastes: our mourning is like the mourning of an Heyre, who then laughes inward, when hee weepes most outward. It is not prayer alone may kill the olde man in vs; eyther it must be sanctified and assisted with fasting & 30 abstinence, or it cannot cast out a spyrit of such might. It is heauenly policie, as well as humaine policie, to weaken our enemy before we fight with him. Wee must weaken our enemy & Gods enemy, the flesh, with abstinence and fasting, before wee fight with him, or els he will be to strong 35 for vs.

Physitions minister Purgations before they apply any

Medicine. Surgions lay Corsiues to any wounde, to eate out the dead-flesh, ere they can cure it. Abstinence and fasting are as Corsiues to eate out the dead-flesh of | gluttony, drunkennes, and concupiscence in our loynes, T 4v
5 which so proiected and eaten out, Christ is that kind Samaritan that will come and bind vp our wounds, & carrie vs home with him to his house or Kingdome euerlasting. Thus much of Delicacy in generall : nowe more particulerly of hys first branch, Gluttony; which if any Country vnder
10 heauen be culpable of, *England* is.

All our friendship & curtesie is nothing but gluttony. Great men shew their state and magnificence in nothing so much as gluttony. The byrth day of our Sauiour, his Resurrection and Ascention, wee honour onely with glut-
15 tony. How many Cookes, Apothecaries, Confectioners, and Vintners in London, grow pursie by gluttonie? Vnder Gluttony, I shrowde not onely excesse in meate, but in drinke also. Our full platters and our plentifull cuppes vnapt vs to any exercise of Christianitie or prayer. We
20 doe nothing but fatten our soules to Hell-fire. Our bodies we bumbast and balist with engorging diseases. Diseases shorten our daies; therefore whosoeuer englutteth himselfe is guilty of hys owne death & damnation.

Qui diligit epulas (sayth *Salomon*) *in egestate erit.* Hee Prou. 21.
25 that loueth dainty fare shall feele scarcity. *Venter mæro* Ierom. ad *æstuans dispumat libidinem,* The belly abounding with wine Eustoch. and good cheere vomiteth forth lust. Gluttony were no sinne, or not so heynous as it is, dyd it not pluck on a number of other heynous sinnes with it: or that wee so
30 engorging our selues, infinite of our poore bretheren hungerd & staru'd not in the streetes, for want of the least dish on our Tables. Very largely haue I inueighed against this vice elswhere, wherefore heere I will trusse it vp more surcinct; Text vpon text I coulde heape, to shewe the
35 inconuenience of it. In *London* I | could exemplify it by V 1 many note-worthy specialities, but in so dooing I shoulde

34 succinct *13*.

but lay downe what euery one knowes, and purchase no thanke for my labour.

To my iourneys end I haste, & discend to the second continent of Delicacie, which is Lust or Luxury. In complayning of it, I am afrayd I shall defile good words, and too-long detayne my Readers. It is a sinne that nowe serueth in *London* in steade of an after-noones recreation. It is a trade that heeretofore thriued in hugger-mugger, but of late dayes walketh openly by day light, like a substantiall graue Merchant. Of hys name or profession hee is not ashamed: at the first beeing askt of it, he will confesse it. Into the hart of the Citty is vncleannesse crept. Great Patrons it hath gotte: almost none are punisht for it that haue a good purse. Euery queane vaunts herselfe of some or other man of Nobility.

London, what are thy Suburbes but licensed Stewes? Can it be so many brothel-houses of salary sensuality & sixe-penny whoredome (the next doore to the Magistrates) should be sette vp and maintained, if brybes dyd not bestirre them? I accuse none, but certainly iustice somewhere is corrupted. Whole Hospitals of tenne times a day dishonested strumpets haue we cloystred together. Night and day the entrance vnto them is as free as to a Tauerne. Not one of them but hath a hundred retayners. Prentises and poore Seruaunts they encourage to robbe theyr Maisters. Gentlemens purses and pockets they will diue into and picke, euen whiles they are dallying with them.

No Smithfield ruffianly Swashbuckler will come of with such harshe hell-raking othes as they. Euery one of them is a Gentlewoman, and eyther the wife of two husbands, or a bedde-wedded Bride before shee was | tenne yeeres old. The speech-shunning sores and sight-ircking botches of theyr vnsatiate intemperance, they will vnblushingly lay foorth and iestingly brag of, where euer they haunt. To Church they neuer repaire. Not in all theyr whole life would they heare of GOD, if it were not for their huge swearing and forswearing by him.

I am halfe of beliefe it is not a reasonable soule which effecteth motion and speech in them, but a soule-imitating deuill, who (the more to despite God) goes and enlyueth such licentious shapes, and (in them) enacteth more ab-
5 homination and villany then hee coulde in the euillest of euill functions, which is, in deuilling it simply. I wonder there is any of these shee retayling bodie-traffiquers, which when a man commeth to try thẽ, will easily credite him to be a man, & not rather suspect hym to be a forme-shyfting
10 deuill, disguised in mans lykenesse. Vtterly are they giuen ouer to the deuill, and he is theyr God, since they serue him & not God. With many of their mercenary predecessors, in the proportion of men, haue deuils had carnall copulation. A guilty conscience hath occasion to distrust
15 euery thing.

Sathan would thinke it a dishonour to him, if hee should not tempt & winne vnto him those whõ weake-witted man can tempt and winne vnto him. Neuer will they resist sathans temptations that cannot resist the temptations of
20 a fleshly tongue. In a damnable state are you, ô yee excrementall vessels of lust. In selling your bodies to sinne, you sell them to the deuill, and with a little money hee buyes them at your hands from Christ, that payd so deere a pryce for them. Halfe a Crowne or little more
25 (or some-times lesse) is the sette pryce of a strumpets soule. The deuill needeth neuer to tempt her, | when for V 2 so small a value he may haue her. Wee hate and cry out against them that like Turkes and Moores sell their Christian bretheren as slaues: how much more ought wee to
30 hate & cry out against them that sel themselues and their soules vnto sinne as slaues? Those skin-playstring Painters (of whom in the treaty of gorgeous attyre we dilated) doe not so much alter Gods image, (by artificiall ouer-beautifying theyr bodies,) as these doe, by debasing themselues to
35 euery one that bringes coyne.

Ere they come to forty, you shall see them worne to the

2 soule imitating *Q*. 2–3 imitating the diuel *13*.

bare bone. At twenty their liuely colour is lost, theyr faces are sodden & perboyld with French surfets. That colour on their cheekes you behold superficializd, is but sir Iohn whites, or sir Iohn Red-caps liuery. The Alcumist of Quicksiluer makes gold. These, (our openers to all 5 commers,) with quickning & conceiuing, getgold. The soules they bring forth, at the latter day, shall stande vp and giue euidence against them. The deuill, to enfranchise them of hell, shall doe no more but produce the misbegotten of theyr loynes. Those that haue beene daily Fornicatresses 10 and yet are vnfruitfull, hee shall accuse of ten thousand murders, by confusion of seedes and barrayning theyr wombes by drugges. There is no such murderer on the face of the earth as a whore. Not onely shall she be araigned and impeached of defeating an infinite number 15 of Gods images; but of defacing and destroying the moulde, wherin he hath appointed them to be cast.

To whom much is giuen, of them shall much bee required. God, hauing giuen them excellent gifts of beauty & wit, requireth at theyr hands excellent increase of thẽ, which 20 when he shall find contrary, he will conuert the excesse | V 2v of his graces and gyfts to the excesse of scourges & curses. Tell me, you dissolute harlots, what increase do you render to God, of your wits or your beauties, but wantonnesse? The vnworthiest are you of life, of anie that liue. All your 25 life time you doe nothing but spoyle others, and spoyle your selues. You marre your mindes & your beauties both at once, by putting them out to bad vses. What are you but sincks and priuies to swallow in mens filth?

Esay, 21. If God (as in *Esay*) shold aske our watch-man the deuill, 30 *Custos, quid de nocte?* Watchman, what seest thou? what seest thou in *London* by night? he would answer, I see a number of whores making men drunke, to cosen them of theyr money. I see others of them sharing halfe with the Baudes their Hostesses, & laughing at the Punies 35 they haue lurched. Others meeting with their cut-purse

13 murder *13*. 21 cnouert *93, 94*. 26 nothing *93, 94*. 32 He *Q*.

Paramours in the darke, to whom they deliuer what they haue beene getting all day from a dozen. I see reuelling, dauncing, and banquetting till midnight. I see a number of wiues cockolding their husbandes, vnder pretence of 5 going to their next neighbours labour. I see Gentle-weomen baking in their painting on their faces by the fire, and burning out many pounds of Candle in pinning their treble rebaters, when they wil not bestow the snuffe of a light on looking on anie good Booke. I see theft, murder, and con- 10 spiracie, following their busines verie closelie. What would you haue more? Those whom the Sunne sees not in a month together, I nowe see in their cuppes and their iolitie.

Well conceited was that Italian who writ the Supplication to Candle-light, earnestly desiring her by writing to disclose 15 vnto him the rare secretes shee sawe in her Emperie. |

One Iudgement-day is scarce enough for GOD to take V 3 the confession alone of Candle-light. He had neede of a night of iudgement as well as a day, to endite the sinners of the night.

20 Prouident Iustices, to whom these abuses redresse appertaineth, take a little paines to visite these houses of hospitality by night, and you shall see what Courtes of good fellowship they keepe. Hoyse vppe Baudes in the Subsidie booke, for the plentie they liue in is princelie. 25 A great office is not so gainefull as the principalship of a Colledge of Curtizans. No Merchant in ritches may compare with those Merchants of maiden-head, if theyr female Inmates were not so fleeting & vncertaine. Thys is a tricke amongst all Baudes, they will faine themselues 30 to be zealous Catholiques; and whereas they dare not come to Church, or into any open assembly, for wondering and howting at, they pretend scrupulosity of conscience, and that they refraine onely for religion. So if they be imprisoned or carried to Bridewel for their baudrie, they 35 giue out they suffer for the Church.

9 in looking *13*. 13 that] the *13*. 18 night iudgement *13*. 25 primipalship *93*, *94*. *Corr. in Errata*. 27 maiden-heads *13*.

Great cunning doe they ascribe to their arte, as the discerning (by the very countenaunce) a man that hath Crownes in his purse: the fine closing in with the next Iustice, or Aldermans deputy of the ward: the winning loue of neyghbours round about, to repell violence, if haply their houses 5 shoulde be enuirond, or any in them proue vnrulie (being pilled and pould too vnconscionably). They fore-cast for back-doores, to come in and out by vndiscouerd. Slyding windowes also, and trappe-bordes in floars, to hyde whores behind and vnder, with false counterfet panes in walls, to 10 be opened and shut like a wicket. Some one Gentleman generally acquainted, they giue his admission vnto sans fee, V 3v & free priuiledge | thence-forward in theyr Nunnery, to procure them frequentance. Awake your wits, graue authorized Lawe-distributers, and shew your selues as insinua- 15 tiue subtile, in smoaking this Citty-sodoming trade out of his starting-holes, as the professors of it are in vnderpropping it. Eyther you doe not, or will not, discend into their deepe-iugling legerdemaine. Any excuse or vnlikely pretext goes for payment. Sette vppe a shoppe of incon- 20 tinencie who so will, let hym haue but one letter of an honest name to grace it. In such a place dwels a wise woman that tels fortunes, and shee (vnder that shadowe) hath her house neuer empty of forlorne vnfortunate Dames, married to olde husbands. 25

In another corner enhabiteth a Phisition and a Coniurer, who hath corners and spare Chambers to hyde carion in, and can coniure vp an vnphisicall drabbe at all times. In a third place is there a grosse-pencild Painter, who works all in oyle-colours, & vnder colour of drawing of pictures, 30 drawes more to his shady Pauilion, then depart thence pure Vestals. Lodge these Baudes any suspicious Gentlewoman, and being askt what shee is, (be she young and braue) they will aunswer, that shee is an Esquires or Knights daughter, sent vp to be plac't with I wote not what Lady or Count- 35 esse. Bee shee of middle yeeres, shee is a widdow that hath sutes in Lawe here at the Tearme, and hath beene a

long Counsaile table petitioner. Be shee but ciuilly plaine, and in her apparraile cittizinizd, shee is the good-wiues Niece, or neere Kinswoman.

Thus haue they euasions for all obiections, and are neuer 5 (lightly) brought in question, but when they breake and iarre with their neighbours. Monstrous creatures are they, meruaile is it fire from heauen consumes | not *London*, as V 4 long as they are in it. A thousande partes better were it to haue publique Stewes, then to let them keepe priuate 10 Stewes as they doe. The worlde woulde count me the most licentiate loose strayer vnder heauen, if I shoulde vnrippe but halfe so much of their veneriall machiauelisme as I haue lookt into. We haue not English words enough to vnfold it. Positions & instructions haue they, to make theyr 15 whores a hundred times more whorish and treacherous, then theyr owne wicked affects (resigned to the deuils disposing) can make them. Waters and receipts haue they to enable a man to the acte after hee is spent, dormatiue potions to procure deadly sleepe, that when the hackney 20 he hath payde for lyes by hym, hee may haue no power to deale wyth her, but shee may steale from hym, whiles he is in his deepe memento, and make her gayne of three or foure other.

I am weary of recapitulating theyr rogery. I woulde 25 those that shoulde reforme it woulde take but halfe the paynes in supplanting it that I haue done in disclosing it. Repent, repent, you ruines of intemperaunce, recouer your soules though you haue sudded your bodies. Let not your feete bee fast locked in the myre of pollution. Meditate 30 but what a brutish thing it is, howe short lasting, and but a minute contentiue. If you should lende it (from the beginning to the ending) but sutable descriptionate politure, or if with your eyes you coulde but view the meeting of venums, I know it wold worke in some of you an abiuring dislike.

35 Consider but what lothsome things are engendred of the excesse of it, and how the soule (which was made to mount

12 machauielisme *Q*.

vpward) in the heate of it descends downward. Sinne
V 4v enough of your selues (weomen) haue you, you | neede
haue no sinne put into you. Your flesh of the own accord
will corrupt faster then you would, though you corrupt it
not before his time with inordinate carnall sluttishnes. 5
Make not your bodies stincking dungeons for diseases to
dwell in: imprison not your soules in a sinck.

To you, men, this admonition I will giue, be prodigal any
way, rather then giue a whore an earnest pennie of her
Prou. 29. perdition. *Salomon* sayth, *Qui nutrit scortum perdit sub-* 10
stantiam, Hee that keepeth a harlot squandreth hys sub-
1. Cor. 6. stance. *Paule* saith, *Qui fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat*,
He which committeth fornication sinneth against hys owne
Acts, 15. flesh. In the Acts it is sayde, *Abstinete vos a fornicatione*,
Abstaine from fornication. In the Epistle to the Galathians, 15
The workes of the flesh are adultery, fornications, &c. In
Ephe. 5. the Epistle to the Ephesians, *No whoremonger, adulterer,
or couetous person, shall enter into the Kingdome of heauen.*
Hebrues the 13. *Adulterers God will iudge.* Deutero-
nomy the 23. *There shall not bee a harlot of the Daughters* 20
of Israell. Mathew the tenth, *Whom God hath ioyned, let
no man seperate.* An adulterer goes betwixt or seperates
Ierom super Amos. whom God hath ioyned. *Cum cetera possit Deus, &c.*
When God can doe all things els, he cannot restore a
Virgin after she is defloured. *Læsa pudicitia*, sayth *Ouid*, 25
deperit illa semel, Chastitie, beeing once scarred, is neuer
salued.

Agamemnon defiling *Brisis*, his wife *Clitemnestra* playd
false with *Egistus* in the meane time. On the other side,
Vlisses shunning the enchauntments of *Circes*, the sweet 30
descant of the Syrens, and immortality of *Calipso*, to liue
with his constant wife *Penelope*, shee (notwithstanding
all the gallant troupes of Grecian woers enticements, that
in her house kept a standing court a long time) kept |
X 1 herselfe chaste for him twenty yeeres. *Solon* ordained that 35
the adulterer should be put to death. The tale of *Seleucus*

4 then yon would *13*. 29 otherside *93, 94*. 31 *Calispo 93, 94*.

& hys sonne is stale. I haue made my booke too great already, onely in displaying the sinnes of *London.* Who soeuer they be that haue soules, and woulde in no meanes haue them miscarry, let them remember that of S. *Augus-*
5 *tine*, *In pollutione anima fit tota caro*, In adulterie or fornication the soule is made all flesh, & is wholie employde in impouerishing and debilitating the fleshe. *Quidam dixit olim, diues eram dudum, sed tria me fecerunt nudum, alea, vina, venus; tribus his factus sum egenus.* There was a man
10 sayd late, hee was in ritch estate, but 3. things haue vndone hym, froward Dice, Wine, and Weomen: onely from these three things all his confusion springs.

The thyrd deriuatiue of Delicacie is sloth, of which I will say a word or two, and so shake hands with all the
15 Sonnes and Daughters of Pride. Security, the last deuident of Delicacy, it includeth in it: for Security is nothing but the effect of Sloth, therfore will I handle both vnder one. It is a sinne which is good for nothing but to be Dame Lecheries Keeper when she lyes in. Hee or shee that is
20 possessed with Sloth is slow in good works, slowe in comming to Sermons, slowe in looking after thrift, slow in resisting temptations, slowe in defending any good cause. And of these fore-slowers it is sayde, Those that be neyther hote nor cold, I will spue them out of my mouth. *Reuela.*
25 the 3.

There is a certaine kind of good sloth, as to be slowe to anger, slowe to iudgement, slowe to reuenge. But there is a sloth vnto iudgement, which is also an ill sloth. As when a poore mans cause hangs so long in Court ere it can be
30 decided, that through the Iudges sloth hee is | vndone with X 1v following of it. There is a sloth also in punishing sinne, as when Magistrates will haue theyr eyes put out with gyfts, and will not see it, but winck at it, till they be broad-waked with the generall cry of the Common-wealth. There
35 is a sloth of Souldioury, as of those that come from the warres, and will not fall to any thing afterward, but cosen,

8 *me*] *13* : *mee 93, 94* : *mei Gro.*

begge, and robbe. There is a sloth of the Ministry, as of those that after they be Beneficed, will neuer preach. Iob, 6. *Doth the wild Asse bray*, saith *Iob*, *when he hath grasse*, *or loweth the Oxe when he hath fodder?* No more doe a great sorte of our Diuines after they haue lyuing. They haue 5 learned to spare theyr tongues against they are to plead for greater preferment. So haue a nūber of Lawyers learned to spare theyr eares, against golden Aduocates come to pleade to them. They cannot heare except their eares be rubd with the oyle of angels: they must haue a 10 spurre to prick on an old dogge, a few Spur-Rials to remedy deafnes.

Others there are (though not of the same order) that can neuer heare but when they are flattered, & they cry con- Esay, 30. tinually to their Preachers, *Loquere nobis placentia*, *Loquere* 15 *nobis placentia.* Speake to vs nothing but pleasing things. And euen as *Archabius* the Trumpeter had more giuen him to cease thē to sound, (the noise that he made was so harsh,) so wil they giue them more to cease then to sound, to corrupt them then to make them sound, to feede their 20 sores then to launch thē. The noise of iudgements which they pronounce soundeth too harshe in theyr eares. They must haue *Orpheus* melodie, whō the *Ciconian* weomen tore in peeces, because with his musique hee corrupted and Guido in musica. effeminated theyr men. *Guido* saith, There are certaine 25 deuils that can abide no musick; these are contrary deuils, X 2 for they delight in nothing but | the musique of flattery. Mouing words please them; but they heare them but as a passion in a play, which maketh them rauishtly melancholy, and nere renteth the hart. 30

The Delicacie both of men & women in *London* will enforce the Lorde to turne all their plenty to scarcity, their tunes of wantonnesse to the alarums of warre, and to leaue their house desolate vnto them.

How the Lord hath begunne to leaue our house desolate 35

6 tongue *13*. 18 thē] them *13*. 20 sound, feed *13*. 21 iudgement *13*. 28–9 as passiō *13*. 31 *Run on in 13*.

vnto vs, let vs enter into the consideration thereof with our selues. At this instant is a generall plague disperst throughout our Land. No voyce is hearde in our streetes, but that of *Ieremy*, *Call for the mourning weomen, that they* Ierem. 9
5 *may come and take vp a lamentation for vs, for death is come into our windowes, and entred into our Pallaces.* God hath Ierem. 5.
striken vs, but we haue not sorrowed, of hys heauiest correction wee make a iest. Wee are not mooued with that which he hath sent to amaze vs: As it is in *Ezechiell*, Ezech. 3.
10 *They will not heare thee, for they wil not heare me:* So they will not, nor cannot, heare God in his visitation, which haue refused to heare him in his Preachers. For your contempt and neglect of hearing Gods Preachers, euen as S. *Iohn Baptist* sayd, *There was one come into the*
15 *world more mighty then he, that carried his fanne in his hand*, So say I, there is one come into the worlde, more mighty then the word preached, which is the Lorde in this present visitation: He carrieth his fanne in his hand to purge his Floore. All the chaffe of carnal Gospellers,
20 that are blowne from hym with euery wind of vanity or aduersity, he shall purge from amongst you.

A time of springing and growing haue we had; nowe is our mercifull Father come to demaunde fruite of vs. The fruite of fayth, the fruite of good works, the fruite of patience
25 and long suffering. If he find no fruite on vs, | he will say X 2v
to vs as hee sayd to the Figge-tree on which he found nothing but leaues, *Neuer fruite growe on thee henceforward.* Math. 21. 19.
And incontinent it withered; and incontinent Death shall seaze on vs. From the mouth of the Lord I speake it,
30 Except in time you conuert, and bring forth the fruites of good life, the Kingdome of GOD shall be taken from you, and giuen to a Nation bringing forth worthy fruits thereof. With the two blinde men that satte by the High-way side Math. 20. 19.
when Christ came from *Ielicho*, we haue cryed a long time,
35 *Lord, haue mercy vpon vs, Lord, haue mercy vpon vs, O Sonne of Dauid, haue mercie vpon vs:* and loe, our eyes haue beene opened, the light of the Gospell hath appeared

vnto vs; But (like those blind-men) after our eyes were opened, after the lyght of the Gospell hath appeared vnto vs, we haue refused to follow Christ.

You Vsurers and Engrossers of Corne, by your hoording vp of gold and graine tyll it is mould, rusty, Moath-eaten, 5 and almost infects the ayre with the stinche, you haue taught God to hoord vp your iniquities and transgressions, tyll mouldinesse, putrifaction, and mustinesse enforceth hym to open them: and being opened, they so poyson the ayre with theyr ill sauour, that from them proceedeth 10 thys perrilsome contagion. The Land is full of adulterers, & for this cause the Land mourneth. The Land is full of Extortioners, full of proude men, full of hypocrites, full of murderers. This is the cause why the Sword deuoureth abroade, and the Pestilence at home. Wicked deedes haue 15 preuailed against vs. *Howe long* (saith *Ieremie*) *shall the Land mourne, and the hearbes of euery field wither, for the wickednesse of the Inhabitants that dwell therein?* Our Land mournes for the sicknesse, the hearbes of the field X 3 haue withered for want of raine, yet | will no man depart 20 from his wickednesse. Post ouer the Plague to what naturall cause you will, I positiuelie affirme it is for sinne. *For sinne* (said the Lord by the fore-named *Ieremy*) *I will smyte the inhabitants of Ierusalem, and man and beast shall die of a great pestilence. I will bring a Plague vpon you,* 25 *that whosoeuer heareth of it, his eares shal tingle.* Eyther take away the cause, or there is no remouing of the effect.

Ierem. 23.
Esay, 24.
Ierem. 12.
Ierem. 21.
Ierem. 19.

London, thou art the seeded Garden of sinne, the Sea that sucks in all the scummy chanels of the Realme. The honestest in thee (for the most) are eyther Lawyers or 30 Vsurers. Deceite is that which aduaunceth the greater sorte of thy chiefest; Let them looke that theyr ritches shall rust and canker, being wet & dewed with Orphans teares.

11 adulteries *13*. 13 Extortions *13*. 28–p. 159, l. 23 *In the cancel leaf issued in 94 the following was substituted for these two paragraphs:*
London thou art the welhead of the land, and therefore it behoueth thee to send foorth wholsome springs. Suffer not thy channels to ouerflow like full conduits. Let not gaine outrun godlinesse and honestie. Make no trade of

The Lord thinketh it were as good for him to kill with the Plague, as to let them kill with oppression. He beholdeth from on hie al subtile conueiances and recognisances. He beholdeth how they peruert foundations, and will not bestow
5 the Bequeathers free almes, but for brybes, or for friendship. I pray God they take not the like course in preferring poore mens chyldren into theyr Hospitals, and conuerting the impotents mony to theyr priuate vsury.

God likewise beholdeth how, to beguile a sely young
10 Gentleman of his Land, they will crouch cap in hande, play the Brokers, Baudes, Apron-squires, Pandars, or any thing. Let vs leaue of the Prouerbe which we vse to a cruell dealer, saying, Goe thy waies, thou art a Iewe; and say, Goe thy waies, thou art a Londoner. For then
15 Londoners, are none more hard harted and cruell. Is it not a common prouerbe amongst vs, whẽ any man hath cosend or gone beyonde vs, to say, Hee hath playde the Merchant with vs? But Merchants, they turne it another | way, and say, He hath playd the Gentleman with them. X 3v
20 The Snake eateth the Toade, and the Toade the Snaile. The Merchant eates vp the Gentleman, the Gentleman eates vp the Yeoman, and all three do nothing but exclaime one vpon another.

The head of *Daniels* Image was of beaten golde, but his Dan. 2. 23.

[1] Dan. 2. 23.] 3. (*rest dropped*) 94 (*cancel*).

deceipt, nor occupation of vsurie. Why may not the Lord as well kill with the plague, as suffer cruell extortioners to kill with oppression? He beholdeth from on high all subtile conueyances and craftie recognisances. No defrauder of the poore, or couetous peruerter of foundations, but is put in the deuils blacke booke. Cursed be they that giue almes with the one hand, and take bribes with the other, that sell bequests for good turnes, and are not ashamed to prostitute charitie like a strumpet for readie money. I speake not this for I know any such, but if there be anie such, to forewarne and reforme them.

Many good mẽ, many good magistrats are there in this City, diuerse godly & wise counsellers hath she to prouide for her peace, them no part of any reproofe of mine concerneth, how euer it may be otherwise thought. Other wicked liuers in it questionlesse there be, which want no ill gotten goods, nor ill mindes to the common wealth. Verie good it were, when they are reuealed, they had plague bills set vpon their doores, to make them more noted and detestable. The snake eateth vp the toade, and the | toade the snayle: the Vsurer eateth vp the Gentleman, and the Gentleman the yeoman, and all three being deuoured one of another, do nothing but complaine one vpon another. X 3v

feete yron. Our head or our Soueraigne is all golde, golden in her lookes, golden in her thoughts, in her words and deedes golden. We, her feete or her subiects, all yron. Though for her vertues sake, and the prayers of his dispersed Congregation, God prorogeth our desolation for a 5 while, yet wee must not thinke but, at one time or other, he will smyte vs and plague vs. Hee shall not take away our sinne, because wee will not confesse, with *Dauid*, that we haue sinned: or if wee doe so confesse, wee holde it full satis-faction for it, without any reformation or amendement. 10 In thys time of infection, we purge our houses, our bodies, and our streetes, and looke to all but our soules.

Psalm 76. Math. 8. The *Psalmist* was of another mind, for he said, *O Lord, I haue purged and clensed my spirit.* Blessed are they that are cleane in hart, howe euer theyr houses be infected. 15 There were thẽ in the heate of the sicknes, that thought to purge and clense theyr houses by conueying their infected seruaunts forth by night into the fieldes, which there starued and dyed, for want of reliefe and warme-keeping. Such mercilesse Canibals (in steade of purging theyr spyrits and 20 theyr houses) haue thereby doubled the Plague on them and theyr houses. In Grayes-Inne, Clarkenwell, Finsbury, and Moore-fieldes, wyth myne owne eyes haue I seene halfe a dozen of such lamentable out-casts. Theyr Bretheren & their Kinsfolkes haue offered large summes of money, to 25 X 4 gette them conueied | into any out-house, and no man would earne it, no man would receiue them. Cursing and rauing by thé High-way side haue they expired, & theyr Maisters neuer sent to them, nor succourd them. The feare of God is come amongst vs, and the loue of God gone from vs. 30

If Christ were now naked and visited, naked and visited should he be, for none wold come neere him. They would rather forsweare him and defie him, then come within forty foote of him. In other Lands, they haue Hospitals, whether their infected are transported, presently after they are 35 strooken. They haue one Hospitall for those that haue

[1] Psalm 76.] *om. 94* (*cancel*). [2] Math. 8.] *om. 94* (*cancel*).

been in the houses with the infected, and are not yet tainted: another for those that are taynted, and haue the sores rysen on them, but not broken out. A third, for those that both haue the sores, & haue them broken out on
5 them. We haue no prouision but mixing hand ouer heade the sicke with the whole. A halfe-penny a month to the poore mans boxe we count our vtter empouerishing. I haue hearde Trauailers of credite auouch, that in *London* is not gyuen the tenth part of that almes in a weeke, which
10 in the poorest besieged Citty of Fraunce is gyuen in a day. What, is our religion all auarice and no good works? Because we may not build Monasteries, or haue Masses, Dirges, or Trentals sung for our soules, are there no deeds of mercy that God hath enioyned vs?
15 Our dogges are fedde with the crumbes that fal from our Tables. Our Christian bretheren are famisht for want of the crumbes that fall from our Tables. Take it of me, rich-men expresly, that it is not your owne which you haue purchast with your industry: it is part of it the poores,
20 parte your Princes, parte your Preachers. You ought to possesse no more then will moderatly sustaine | your house X 4v and your family. Christ gaue all the victuall he had to those that flocked to heare his Sermons. We haue no such promise-founded plea at the day of al flesh as that in
25 Christs name we haue done almes-deeds. How would we with our charity sustaine so many mendicant orders of Religion as we heere-to-fore haue, & as now at thys very houre beyond Sea are, if wee cannot keepe and cherrish the casuall poore amongst vs? Neuer was there a simple
30 liberall relieuer of the poore but prospered in most things he went about. The cause that some of you cannot prosper is for you put out so little to interest to the poore.

No thanks-worthy exhibitions or reasonable pensions will you contribute to maymd Souldiours or poore Schol-
35 lers, as other Nations doe, but suffer other Nations with your discontented poore to Arme themselues against you. Not halfe the Priestes that haue beene sent from them into

England had hether beene sent, or euer fledde hence, if the Crampe had not helde close your purse strings. The lyuings of Colledges by you are not increased, but diminished: because those that first raysed them had a superstitious intent, none of vs euer after will haue any Christian 5 charitable intent.

In the dayes of *Salomon*, gold and siluer bare no price. In these our dayes, (which are the dayes of sathan,) nought but they beare any price. God is despised in comparison of them. *Demas* forsooke Christ for the worlde; 10 in this our deceasing couetous world, *Demas* hath more followers then Christ. An old Vsurer that hath nere an heyre, rakes vp thirty or forty thousande pounds together in a hutch, will not part with a penny, fares miserably, dyes suddainly, and leaues those the fruites of 15 hys niggardize to them that neuer thanke him. |

Y 1 He that bestoweth any thing on a Colledge or Hospitall, to the worlds end shal haue his name remembred in daily thanksgyuing to God for him: otherwise hee perrisheth as the Pellitory on the wall or the weede on the 20 house toppe, that groweth onely to wither; Of all his wealth no good man reaping any benefite, none but Canckers, prysons, and bard Chestes, liue to report hee was ritch. Those great bard Chestes hee carries on hys backe to Heauen gates, and none so burdened is permitted 25 to enter.

There is no Male of any kinde hath apparance of breastes but man, and hee, hauing them, giues no sucke with them at all. Such dry-nurses are our English Cormogeons; they haue breasts, but giue no suck with them. They haue 30 treasure innumerable, but doe no good with it. All the Abbey-lands that were the abstracts from impertinent almes, nowe scarce afforde a meales meate of almes. A penny bestowed on the poore is abridged out of housekeeping. All must be for their Chyldren that spend more 35 then all. More prosperous chyldren should they haue,

12 nere] not *13*. 17 Hee *c.w.*

were they more open handed. The Plague of God threatens to shorten both them and theyr children, because they shorten theyr hands from the poore. To no cause referre I this present mortality but to couetise.

5 Let couetise be enlarged out of durance, the infected ayre will vncongeale, and the wombes of the contagious Clowdes will be clensed. Pray and distribute, you gorbellied Mammonists; without prayer and distribution, or almost thinking of GOD, haue you congested those refulgent masses of substaunce. With the destribution of them, (if you looke for saluation,) your soules must you raunsome from Belial. And fortunate are you, | if with tedious intercessions and prayers you may gette your raunsome accepted of. Nothing of all your drosse (going downe into the earth) 15 shall you take with you: you shal cary no more hence, *Nisi parua quod vrna capit*, but a Coffyn and a winding-sheete.

Y 1v

They haue slept theyr sleepe, saith *Dauid*, and all the men of riches haue found none of their treasure in their 20 owne hands after theyr sleepe was ended. Poore men, to you I speake, (for ritch men haue theyr Country Granges to flye to from contagion,) humble your soules with fasting and prayer. *Elias* and *Moyses*, by their fasting and prayer, were filled with the familiarity of God. Entreate the Lord 25 that he would passe ouer your houses, as in Egypt hee past ouer the houses of the Israelites first-borne: Beseech him, with the *Gerazens* (into whose Heardes of Swine the deuils were sent), to depart (with his heauy iudgements) out of your quarters. Though he seemeth a little to sleepe, 30 (as when hee was on the Sea with his Disciples, and the tempest arose,) yet if you awake him with your out-crying prayers, as the Apostles did, saying: *Lord, saue vs, Lord, saue vs, or wee perrish*, hee will commaund the windes and the Sea, controule the contagion and the sicknes, and make 35 a calme ensue; heale euery disease and languor amongst you.

Psalm 75.

12 tedious] long *13*. 27 *Gergazens 13*.

Psalm 77. *In the day of my trouble*, (saith the fore-named propheticall King,) *I sought vnto the Lorde, my sore ran & ceased not in the night, my soule refused comfort. I did thinke vpon God, and was troubled; I prayed, and my spyrit was ful of anguish.* Let vs seeke vnto the Lorde in like sorte, let our 5 soules refuse comfort, let vs thinke vpon him & be troubled, let vs pray, and fill our spyrits ful of anguish, til such time as he turneth our affliction from vs. If wee be not thus Y 2 troubled, if our spyrits bee not possessed with an-|guish, but we make a sport and flea-byting of his fearefull visita- 10 tion, and thinke (without our prayers) the season of the yeere will cease it, hee will sende a rougher stringed scourge amongst vs, a desolation that shall furrow deeper in our sides, and roote out the memoriall of vs.

Hebr. 12. *If* (saith the Apostle to the Hebrues) *they escaped not* 15 *which refused him that spake on earth, much more shall they not escape that turne away from him that speaketh to them from heauen.* Now it is that God speaketh to vs frõ heauen, now if wee turne away from him, or will not turne to him, there shall not one of vs escape. 20

In the time of *Gregory Nasianzene*, (if wee may credite Ecclesiasticall recordes,) there sprung vp the direfullest mortality in Rome, that man-kinde hath beene acquainted with: scarce able were the lyuing to bury the dead, and not so much but their streets were digged vp for graues; 25 Which this holy Father (with no little cõmiserate hart-bleeding) beholding, commanded all the Clergie (for hee was at that time their chiefe Bishop) to assemble in prayer and supplications, & deale forcinglie beseeching with God, to intermit his furie and forgiue them. For all this, not any 30 whit it abated; hee tooke no pitty on them. There-with that reuerend Pastor (entranced to hell in his thoughts for the distresse of his people) caused al the Cittizens, young and old, to be called foorth theyr houses, and attende him in a howling procession. Vppe and downe the streetes, from 35 one end of the Citty to the other he ledde them, and

22 spung *93, 94*: sp[r]ung *Gro.* 31 it] is *15.*

Preachers (as Captains ouer multitudes) were sette to direct & encourage them in their Inuocations and Orizons. Foure dayes together, in this feruent exercise he detained thẽ. In those places where the mortality raged most, a
5 stande | would hee make halfe a day, and with reiterated Y 2v
solicitings, and prostrate voyce-crazing vehemencie, breake ope a broade clowde-dispersing passage to the throne of mercy.

The foure dayes concluded, and that with their bellowing
10 clamors and breast-embolning sighes they had enforced a sufficient breache in the Firmament, there appeared a bright sunne-arraied Angell, standing with a reaking bloody sword in his hand, in the chiefe gate of theyr Citty, which, (they comming neere,) in all theyr sights, on hys arme hee
15 wiped and put vp: and (in that very instant) throughout the Citty the plague ceased. Some (peraduenture) may take exceptions against the certainty heereof, but if we will authorize any thing in the Romaine or Ecclesiasticall histories, we must ascribe truth as well vnto this. I would
20 see him that could giue me any other reason but thys, of the building of the yet extant gate and Castle of S. *Angelos*, on both which the Angell with hys sworde drawne is artificially engrauen. True, or not true, the example can doe no harme: We will not be too hastie to imitate it.

25 In stead of humbling our selues after this manner, and wearying God with our cryes and lamentations, wee fall a drinking and bousing, & making iestes of his frowning castigation. As Babes smyle and laugh in theyr sleepe, so we (surprised with a lethargy of sinne) do nothing but
30 laugh and iest in the midst of our sleepie security. Wee scoffe and are iocund, when the sworde is ready to goe through vs. On our wine-benches we bidde a *Fico* for tenne thousand Plagues.

Him as a timerous milke-soppe we deride, that takes
35 any antidote against it. Vpon the poynt of Gods sword wee will runne as he is in stryking: rush into houses that | are infected, as it were to out-face him. *My sonne* (sayth Y 3

Hebr. 12. 5. the Apostle), *despise not the chastisement of the Lorde.* The Lordes chastising wee thinke to escape, by despysing it. *Quod in communi possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur.* That which is disperst, of all is despised. *Est tentatio adducens peccatum, et tentatio probans fidem.* There is a 5 temptation leading to sinne, and a temptation trying our fayth. The temptation of this our visitation hath both ledde vs to sinne, and tryed our fayth. It hath ledde vs to sinne, in that it hath hardned our harts, & we haue not humbled our selues vnder it as wee should. It hath tryed 10 our fayth to be a presumptuous and rash fayth, and that Iob, 5. 17. it is built on no firme foundation. *Blessed is the man*, saith *Iob, whom God correcteth.* Cursed are we, for God correcteth vs and we regard it not.

As the holy Ghost willeth vs not to despise the chastising 15 of God, so he wold haue vs not to faint when we are rebuked of him, and thereof hee giueth a reason, *For whom the Lord loueth, he chastiseth, and he scourgeth euery Sonne he receiueth.* As there be drunken despysers of Gods present chastisement, so are there them that faynt too much vnder 20 it: that thinke it lyes not in the Lordes power to restore them; that no prayers or repentaunce may repriue them: that imagine (since GOD in thys world hath forsooke them) he wil for euer forsake thẽ. Thus they argument against themselues: He that denieth vs a small request, of 25 the prolongment of a fewe earthlie dayes, he will surely stoppe his eares, when in a greater sute (for the life eternall) we shall importune him.

O no, foolish men, you erre, though long life on earth be a blessing, yet it followes not by contradiction, that 30 GOD curseth all those whose dayes hee shortens. Many, Y 3v except theyr dayes were shortned, wold neuer be | saued. Many in theyr prime and best yeeres are raught hence, because the world is vnworthy of them, and they are more worthy of heauen then the world. The good King *Iosias* 35 was taken away in his youth. Our Sauiour was takẽ vp

3 *negligetur 93, 94. Corr. in Errata.*

in his best youthly age. Others for their sins the Lord by vntimely death punisheth in this world, that they may be absolued in the worlde to come. A large account of them shall he demaund, to whom he lendeth long life. 5 Whom God chastiseth or cutteth of, hee loueth: halfe his account he cutts of. Euery son hee scourgeth that he receiueth.

Hath GOD chastised or scourged such a man by the sicknes, he is not a greater sinner then thou whõ he hath 10 not chastised, but he loueth him better then thee, for, in his chastising, he hath shewed more care ouer him then he hath ouer thee. Few men defamed with any notorious vice can I heare of, that haue dyed of this sicknesse. God chastiseth his Sonnes and not bastards. No Sonnes 15 of God are we, but bastards, vntill we be chastned. The Fathers of our earthly bodies for a few dayes chastise vs at theyr pleasure, but God chastiseth vs for our profite, that we may be partakers of his holines. The Fathers of our earthly bodies, though they beate vs and chastise vs, 20 yet cannot (for all the payne they put vs to) enfeofe vs in glory perpetuall; for howe shoulde they doe that for vs, which they cannot doe for themselues? Onely because they are to benefite vs with a litle transitory chaffe, they tyrannise and raigne ouer vs: and therefore more 25 austere are they to keepe vs in obedience, for we should not (after theyr death) lauishly mispende the labours of theyr parsimony.

Heb. 12. 8, 9.

The guerdon they giue vs (for all theyr inflicted sorrow and smart) is that which they must leaue in spite | of theyr 30 harts, & cannot themselues keepe any longer. They giue vs place, that in selfe-same sort we may gyue place to others. But God, our Redeemer, Chastiser, and Father, corrects vs, that wee may receiue no corruptiue inheritaunce, (such as in this life we receiue, by the wayning of our earthly 35 Fathers,) but a neuer fayling inheritaunce, where we shall haue our Father himselfe for our inheritaunce.

Y 4

O what a blessed thing is it to bee chastised of the Lord.

Is it not better (ô *London*) that God correct thee, and loue thee, then forbeare thee, and forsake thee? He is a iust God, and must punish eyther in thys life, or in the lyfe to come. Though thou considerest onely the things before thee, yet he, being a louing fore-seeing father for thee, and 5 knowing the intollerablenesse of the neuer quenched Fornace (which for sinne he hath prepared), will not consent to thine owne childish wishes, of winking at thee heere on earth, (where though he did spare thee, thou shouldst haue no perfect tranquillity,) but with a short light 10 punishment, acquitteth thee from the punishment eternall, & eternally incomprehensible tortorous.

When Preachers threaten vs for sinne with thys adiunct, eternall, as, paynes eternall, eternall damnation, eternall horror and vexation, we heare them as words of course, but 15 neuer diue right downe into theyr bottomlesse sence. A confused modell and misty figure of Hell haue we, conglomorate in our braynes, drowsily dreaming that it is a place vnder earth, vncessantly vomiting flames, like *Aetna* or *Mongiball*, and fraught full of fire & Brimstone, but we 20 neuer follow the meditation of it so farre (were it nothing els) as to thinke what a thing it is to lyue in it perpetually. |

Y 4v It is a thousand thousand times worser then to be staked on the toppe of *Aetna* or *Mongiball*. A hundred thousande 25 thousande times more then thought can attract, or supposition apprehend. But eternally to liue in it, that makes it the hell, though the torment were but trifling. Signified this word eternal but some sixe thousand yeeres (which is about the distance from *Adam*), in our comprehension it 30 were a thing beyond mind, insomuch as wee deeme it an impatient spectacle, to see a Traytour but halfe an houre groning vnder the Hangmans hands. What then is it, to liue in threescore times more griding discruciament of dying, a yere, a hundred yeere, a thousand yeere, sixe 35 thousand yeere, sixty thousand yeere, more thousandes

12 tortorous *13*: tortures *Gro.* 16 theyr] the *13*. 34 grinding *13*.

then can be numbred in a thousand yeeres? so much importeth this word eternal, or for euer.

Though all the men that euer God made were hundred handed like *Briareus*, and shoulde all at once take pennes
5 in theyr hundred handes, and doe nothing in a whole age together but sette downe in Figures & characters as many myllions or thousands as they could, so many millions or thousands could they neuer set down as this worde of three sillables, *Eternall*, includeth; an Ocean of yncke would it
10 draw dry to describe it. Hell is a circle which hath no breakings of, or discontinuing. Hence blasphemous Witches and Coniurers, whẽ they raise vp the deuill, drawe a ringed circle all-about hym, that he should not rushe out and oppresse them: as also to humble & debase him, in putting
15 him in mind, by that circle, of the eternall circle of damnation, wherin God hath confined and shut him. What dullards and block-heads are wee, that hearing these tearmes of hell and eternall so often souned in our eares, sound them so | shallowly, or if we sound them as we Z 1
20 shold, are no more confounded with them! It should seeme we are not too much terrified with them, when for an houres pleasure (which hath no taste of true pleasure in it), we will dare them both to theyr vtmost.

Foules of the ayre, though neuer so empty stomackt,
25 flye not for foode into open Pit-fals. *Quæ nimis apparent retia vitat auis*, Too open snares euen simple birdes doe shunne. No Beast of the Forrest, spying a gin or a trap layd for him, but eschewes it. We spy and fore-see the Pyt-fal, the Nette, the Ginne, the Trappe, that sathan (our
30 old entrapper) layes for vs, yet wilfully wee (without any flattering hope of foode, without any excellent allurement to entice vs, or hunger to cõstraine vs) with full race will darte our selues into them. Yea, though Christ from the skyes hold out neuer so moouing lures vnto vs, all of them
35 (Haggard-like) wee wil turne tayle to, and haste to the yron fist that holds out nought but a knyfe to enthrill vs.

12 they they *93, 94*. 18 soun[d]ed *Gro.*

O, if there were no heauen, me thinkes, (hauing that vnderstanding we ought,) we should forbeare to sinne, if it were but for feare of hell. Our Lawes, with nothing but proposed penalty, from offending cohibite vs ; they allow no rewarde to theyr temperate obseruants: Gods Lawes (proposing both exceeding rewarde and exceeding penalty) are euery day violated and enfringed. Eyther wee suppose him not able to execute his Lawes, or that (like one of Romes Epicure Emperors) he more fauoureth their breakers then obeyers ; aduauncing men sooner for oppugning then obseruing them. Farre is hee from that mad-braine fondnesse ; of his Lawes he is not onely not carelesse, but iealous and zealous, and to the fourth generation pursueth their neglecters. |

Z 1ᵛ None of them he pardons, though for a space he may respite. If he delayeth or respiteth, his delaying or respyting is but to fetch vp his hand hyer, that he may let it fal on them heauier. His deferring is the more to infer. Of no ill payment shall he complaine, that hath the wages of his wickednes held from him in this world, to receiue them by the whole summe in Hell. Could the least and sencelessest of our sences into the quietest corner of hel be transported in a vision but three minutes, it woulde breede in vs such an agasting terror, and shyuering mislike of it, that to make vs more wary of sinne-meriting it, we would haue it painted in our Gardens, our banquetting-houses, on our gates, in our Gallaries, our Closets, our bed-chambers.

Againe, were there no hell but the accusing of a mans owne conscience, it were hell and the profundity of hel to any sharpe transpercing soule that had neuer so lyttle inckling of the ioyes of heauen, to be seperate frõ them ; to heare and see tryumphing and melody, and, *Tantalus* like, not bee suffered to come neere them or partake them ; to thinke when all els were entred, hee should be excluded. Our best methode to preuent this excluding, or seperating frõ Gods presence, is heere on earth (what soeuer we goe about) to thinke we see him present. Let vs fancy the firmament as his face,

the all-seeing Sun to be his right eye, and the Moone hys left, (although hys eyes are farre more fiery pointed and subtile,) that the Starres are but the congemmed twinck-lings of those his cleare eyes, that the winds are the breath
5 of his nostrils, and the lightning & tempests the troubled action of hys ire: that his frownes bring forth frost & snowe, and hys smiles faire weather, that the Winter is the image of the first world, wherein *Adam* was vnparadized, & the fruit-|fostering Summer the representation of the seede of Z 2
10 womans satis-fying, for the vnfortunate fruite of lyfe which he pluckt. Who is there entertayning these diuine allusiue cogitations, that hath not God vnremoueable in his memory? Hee that hath God in his memorie, and aduaunceth him before his eyes euer-more, will be bridled and pluckt backe
15 from much abusion and bestialnesse. Many sinnes be there, which if none but man should ouer-eye vs offending in, wee woulde neuer exceede or offend in. In the presence of his Prince, the dissolutest misliuer that lyues wil not offend or misgouerne himselfe: how much more ought we (abyding
20 alwaies in Gods presence) precisely to straighten our pathes? Harde is it when we shall haue our Iudge an eye-witnes against vs. There is no demurring or excep-tioning against his testimony.

Purblind *London*, neyther canst thou see that GOD sees
25 thee, nor see into thy selfe. Howe long wilt thou clowde his earthly prospect with the misty night of thy mounting iniquities? Therefore hath hee smytten thee and strooke thee, because thou wouldest not belieue he was present with thee. He thought, if nothing els might moue thee to
30 looke backe, at least thou wouldest looke back to thy striker. Had it not beene so to cause thee to looke back & repent, with no crosse or plague would he haue visited, or sought to call thee. He could haue beene reuenged on thee superaboũdantly at the day of thy dissolution & soules
35 general Law-day, though none of thy chyldren or allies by his hand had been sepulchred. Hys hande I may well terme it, for on many that are arrested with the Plague is

the print of a hand seene, and in the very moment it first takes thē, they feele a sencible blow gyuen them, as it were with Z 2v the hande of some stander | by. As Gods hand wee will not take it, but the hande of fortune, the hande of hote weather, the hande of close smouldry ayre. The Astronomers, they 5 assigne it to the regiment and operation of Planets. They say, *Venus*, *Mars*, or *Saturne*, are motiues therof, and neuer mention our sinnes, which are his chiefe procreatours. The vulgar menialty conclude, therefore it is like to encrease, because a Hearneshaw (a whole afternoone together) 10 sate on the top of S. *Peters* Church in Cornehill. They talke of an Oxe that tolde the bell at *Wolwitch*, & howe from an Oxe hee trans-formed himselfe to an olde man, and from an old man to an infant, & frō an infant to a young man. Strange propheticall reports (as touching the sicknes) 15 they mutter he gaue out, when in trueth they are nought els but cleanly coyned lyes, which some pleasant sportiue wittes haue deuised, to gull them most groselie. Vnder Maister *Dees* name, the lyke fabulous diuinations haue they bruted, when (good reuerend old man) hee is as farre from 20 any such arrogant prescience, as the superstitious spreaders of it are from peace of conscience.

If we would hunt after signes and tokens, we should ominate from our hardnes of hart and want of charitie amongst bretheren, that Gods iustice is harde entring. No 25 certainer cōiecture is there of the ruine of any kingdom then theyr reuolting from God. Certaine coniectures haue we had that we are reuolted from God and that our ruine is not far of. In diuers places of our Land it hath raigned blood, the ground hath been remoued, and horrible de- 30 formed byrthes conceiued. Did the Romans take it for an ill signe, whē their Capitol was strooken with lightning, how much more ought *London* to take it for an ill signe, when Z 3 her chiefe steeple is strooken | with lightning? They with thunder frō any enterprise were disanimated, we nothing are 35

7 or] *om. 13.* 21 prescience] precisenesse *13.* 22 from true peace *13.*
35 any] an *13.*

amated. The blazing starre, the Earthquake, the dearth and famine some fewe yeeres since, may nothing afright vs. Let vs looke for the sworde next to remembrance and warne vs. As there is a tyme of peace, so is there a time of warre.
5 No prosperity lasteth alwaies. The Lord by a solemne oath bound himselfe to the Iewes; yet when they were obliuious of him, he was obliuious of the couenant he made with their forefathers, and left theyr Citty desolate vnto them. Shall he not then (we starting from him, to whõ by
10 no bonde he is tyde) leaue our house desolate vnto vs? Shall we receiue of God (a long time) al good, and shall we not looke in the end to receiue of hym some ill? O ye disobedient chyldren, returne, and the Lorde shall heale your infirmities. Lye downe in your confusion, & couer your
15 faces with shame. From your youth to thys day, haue you sinned, and not obeyed the voyce of the Lord your God. Now, in the age of your obstinacie and vngrateful abandonments, repent and be conuerted. With one vnited intercessionment, thus reconcile your selues vnto hym.

Ierem. 3. 22.

20 O Lord, our refuge from one generation to another, whether from thy sight shall we goe, or whether, but to thee, shall we flye from thee? Iust is thy wrath; it sendeth no man to hell vniustly. Rebuke vs not in thine anger, neyther chastise vs in thy displeasure. We haue sinned, we confesse,
25 & for our sinnes thou hast plagued vs, with the sorrowes of death thou hast compast vs, & thy snares haue ouer-tooke vs: out of Natures hande hast thou wrested the sword of Fate, and now slayest euery one in thy way. Ah, thou preseruer of men, why hast thou sette vs vp as a marke against
30 thee? Why wilt thou breake a | leafe driuen to and fro with the wind, & pursue the dry stubble? Returne & shew thy selfe meruailous vpon vs. None haue we like *Moyses*, to stand betwixt life & death for vs. None to offer himselfe to die for the people, that the Plague may cease. O deere

Z 3v

[1] Ierem. 3. 22] *om. 13.*

7 he was obliuious of the] it pleased him to forget the *13.* 20 *In 13 this begins a new page and is in larger type.*

Lord, for *Ierusalem* didst thou die, yet could'st not driue backe the plagues destinate to *Ierusalem.* No image or likenes of thy *Ierusalem* on earth is there left, but *London.* Spare *London*, for *London* is like the Citty that thou louedst. Rage not so farre against *Ierusalem*, as not onely to desolate 5 her, but to wreake thy selfe on her likenes also. All the honor of thy miracles thou loosest, which thou hast shewed so many and sundry times, in rescuing vs with a strong hand from our enemies, if now thou becommest our enemie. Let not worldlings iudge thee inconstant, or vndeliberate 10 in thy choyse, in so soone reiecting the Nation thou hast chosen. In thee we hope beyond hope. Wee haue no reason to pray to thee to spare vs, and yet haue wee no reason to spare from prayer, since thou hast wild vs. Thy will be done, which willeth not the death of any sinner. 15 Death let it kill sinne in vs. and reserue vs to prayse thee. Though thou kilst vs, wee will prayse thee : but more prayse shalt thou reape by preseruing then killing, since it is the onely prayse to preserue where thou maist kill. With the Leaper we cry out, *O Lorde, if thou wilt, thou canst make vs* 20 *cleane.* We clayme thy promise, *That those which mourne shall be comforted.*

Comfort vs, Lord ; we mourne, our bread is mingled with ashes, and our drinke with teares. With so manie Funerals are wee oppressed, that wee haue no leysure to weepe for 25 our sinnes for howling for our Sonnes and Daughters. O heare the voyce of our howling, withdraw thy hand from vs, & we will draw neere vnto thee. |

Z 4 Come, Lorde Iesu, come, for as thou art Iesus, thou art pittifull. Challenge some part of our sinne-procured 30 scourge to thy Crosse. Let it not be sayd, That thou but halfe satis-fiedst for sinne. We belieue thee to be an absolute satis-fier for sinne. As we belieue, so for thy merits sake we beseech thee let it happen vnto vs.

Thus ought euery Christian in *London*, frõ the highest to 35 the lowest, to pray. From Gods iustice wee must appeale to

29 *Run on in Gro.*

his mercy. As the French King, *Frauncis* the first, a woman kneeling to hym for iustice, sayd vnto her, Stand vp, woman, for iustice I owe thee ; if thou begst any thing, beg for mercy. So if we begge of GOD for anie thing, let vs begge for mercy, 5 for iustice hee owes vs. Mercy, mercy, O graunt vs, heauenly Father, for thy mercy.

Luctus monumenta manebunt.

CHRISTS TEARES OVER IERVSALEM.

VVHEREVNTO IS AN-nexed, a comparatiue admonition to *London*.

A IOVE MVSA.

By *Tho. Nashe.*

LONDON.

Printed for Andrew VVise, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Angell. 1594.

TO THE READER.

GEntlemen, my former Epistle vnto you in this place began with *Nil nisi flere libet;* now must I of necessitie alter that posie, and transpose my com-
5 plaint to a new tune of *Flendus amor meus est;* The loue or pitie I shewed towards mine enemie, of all my ill fortunes hath most confounded me. The onely refuge which for my abused innocencie is left me, is to take vnto me the Academicks opinion, who absolutely conclude that nothing
10 is to be affirmed. Kings and Emperours that by the Popes curse haue beene terrified from warres they intended haue termed religion the mother of cowardise, resolutions manacles, honours miserie. Religion or conscience hath made me sacrifice my zealous wit to simplicitie, and my deuout
15 pen to reprochfull penitence. The druggiers at Venice, to approue their Mithridate to the Phisitions, take Spiders and eate them: so I, to approue the Mithridate of my new diuinitie to the special Phisitions of our soules here in England, determined with my selfe to disgest a Spider,
20 that is, swallow all iniuries, to my credit how banefull soeuer, and embrace sweete peace. Cleane contrarie to my expectation it hath fallen out, for treason was shrowded vnder termes of truce: whereas I thought to make my foe a bridge of golde, or faire words, to flie by, he hath vsed it
25 as a high way to inuade me. *Hoc pia lingua dedit.* This it is to deale plainly. An extreme gull he is in this age, and no better, that beleeues a man for his swearing. Impious *Gabriell Haruey*, the vowed enemie to all vowes and protestations, plucking on with a slauish priuat submis-
30 sion a generall publike reconciliation, hath with a cunning

1 *This epistle is found in 94 alone. It is preceded, on pages* * 3 *to* * 4, *by the dedication to Lady Elizabeth Carey reprinted from 93.*

ambuscado of confiscated idle othes, welneare betrayed me to infamie eternall, (his owne proper chaire of torment in hell.) I can say no more but the deuill & he be no men of their 2* 1 words. Many cour-|ses there be (as *Machiauell* inspiredly sets downe) which in them selues seeme singular & vertuous, 5 but if a man follow them they wilbe his vtter subuersion; others that seeme absurd, odious, and vitious, that well looked into will breed him most ease. This course of shaking hands with *Haruey* seemd at the first most plausible and commendable, and the rather because I desired to conforme 10 my selfe to the holy subiect of my booke; but afterwards (being by his malice peruerted) it seemd most degenerate and abiect. Henceforth, with the forenamed *Machiauel*, for an vnrefutable principle I will hold it, that he is vtterly vndone which seekes by new good turnes to roote out old 15 grudges. A prouerbe it is as stale as sea-biefe; saue a theef from the gallows, and hee'le be the first shall shew thee the way to Saint Gilesesse. *Haruey* I manifestly saued from the knot vnder the eare; verily he had hangd him selfe had I gone forwards in my vengeance; but, I know 20 not how, vpon his prostrate intreatie I was content to giue him a short Psalme of mercie: nowe, for repriuing him when he was ripe for execution, thus he requites me. Sixe and thirtie sheets of mustard-pot paper since that hath he published against me, wherein like a drunken begger he 25 hath rayled most grossely, and imitated the rascally phrase of sunne-burnt rogues in the field. Was neuer whore of Babylon so betrapt with abhominations as his stile (like the dog-house in the fields) is pestred with stinking filth. His vaineglorie (which some take to be his gentlewoman) 30 he hath new painted ouer an inch thicke. Some fewe crummes of my booke he hath confuted, all the rest of his inuention is nothing but an oxe with a pudding in his bellie, not fit for any thing els, saue only to feast the dull eares of ironmongers, ploughmen, carpenters, and porters. Maister 35 *Lillie*, poore deceassed *Kit Marlow*, reuerent Doctor *Perne*, with a hundred other quiet senslesse carkasses before the

cõquest departed, in the same worke he hath most notoriously & vilely dealt with; and to conclude, he hath proued him selfe to be the only *Gabriel* Graue-digger vnder heauen. Thrice more conuenient time I wil picke out to stretch him
5 forth limbe by limbe on the racke, and a field as large as *Achilles* race to baite him to death with darts according to the custome of bayting buls in Spaine. Neuer more let him looke to quench wilde fire with milke, or mitigate the | matter with mild termes, for *Licya* in times past was not 2* 1v
10 one halfe so afflicted with the fires of *Chimera*, as hee will be with the thũder & lightning of some mens furie vp in armes. I speake not of my self so much as of foraine preparations that are whetting their pens to pricke him to death. Excuse me, Gentlemen, though I be obstinately
15 bent in this quarell, for I haue tried all wayes with mine aduersary. Heretofore I was like a tyrãt which knowes not whether it is better to be feared or loued of his subiects. First I put my feare in practise, and that housed him for a while, next into my loue and my fauour I receiued him, and
20 that puft him vp with such arrogance that he thought him selfe a better man then his maister, and was ready to iustle me out of all the reputation I had. Let him trust to it Ile hamper him like a iade as he is for this geare, & ride him with a snaffle vp & down the whole realme. But because
25 here I haue shewed my selfe in diuinitie, of diuerse great diuines I askt counsell, and made it a matter of conscience whether it were lawfull to rap a foole with his owne bable and teach him to know him selfe, and they expresly certified me it was euerie way as allowable as the punishing of
30 malefactors and offenders. Indeede I haue heard there are mad men whipt in Bedlam, and lazie vagabonds in Bridewell; wherfore me seemeth there should be no more differẽce betwixt the displing of this vaine *Braggadochio*, then the whipping of a mad man or a vagabond.

35 Leaue we him till his fatall houre call for him, and let vs cast about to some more necessarie matter. ·I am

33 displing] dis[ci]pling *Gro.*

informed there be certaine busie wits abrode, that seeke in my *Iacke Wilton* to anagrãmatize the name of Wittenberge to one of the Vniuersities of England, that scorn to be coũted honest plaine meaning men like their neighbours, for not so much as out of mutton and potage but they wil 5 construe a meaning of Kings and Princes. Let one but name bread, they will interpret it to be the town of Bredan in the low countreyes; if of beere he talkes, then straight he mocks the Countie Beroune in France. If of foule weather or a shower of raine, he hath relation to some that 10 shall raigne next. Infinite number of these phanatical strange hierogliphicks haue these new decipherers framed to them selues, & stretcht words on the tenter hooks so 2* 2 miserably, that a man were as good, con-|sidering euerie circũstãce, write on cheuerell as on paper. For my part I 15 would wish them not to deceiue thẽ selues with the spirit of inspiration without proofe, or confound Logicke by making no difference betwixt *probabile* and *manifeste verum*. Yet neither doe I grant thẽ any right *probabile*, but a peece of a lame likelihood, as much as if one shuld thus argue, 20 such two mẽ are alike, for the one hath a scar in his foot, the other in his face. It was not without cause that *Lucilius*, in *Tullies* second booke *de Oratore*, wisht to be blest from two sorts of readers, to wit, the too learned & the too ignorant, for the one wil cast beyond the Moone in imagina- 25 tions vpon wordes, the other will scarce vnderstand common sence.

This I will mildly say to them that haue entertained this mislike, if there be anie thing they may iustly take offence at, and wherein to the full I cannot priuatly satisfie them, 30 I craue no delay of the sentence of detraction and infamie. If in this Epistle I should rip vp and canuasse blind cauils, some light brains would imagine I went about to get new fame to their disgrace. A number of excellent wel conceipted learned men in that Vniuersity there be whom I 35 loue and honor with my hart, and vnto whom I would sooner commit my selfe to be censured, then to all the

world besides. Had I the least suspition or inkling this ignominious ill opinion were setled in their conceipts, nothing should stay me from running my countrie. Euen of the meanest and basest, whatsoere hee be, that is once 5 admitted and matriculated amongst them, I desire to be thought fauourably of. Onely the bloud of the *Harueys* put by, who if they should once grow into the least liking of me, I would sinfully loth my selfe while I liued. But for a mans very name in the way of praise to come in 10 a noted fooles mouth, is an vtter blemish to him and to his heires. I warrant the heralds wil giue him such an Item in his armes for it, as he shall neuer claw off.

Graue learned curteous Gentlemen, in a word I wil end with you ; I had no allusion in sentence, word, or sillable 15 vnto anie of you when I writ the entertainment at Wittenberge, and let so much suffise to your contentment.

What talke I so long of *Iacke Wilton*? I may tell you he hath but a sleight wringing by the eares, in comparison of the heauie | penance my poore Teares here haue en- 2*2v 20 dured, to turne them cleane vnto tares: there be that haue laboured, and haue got salt Catars in their throats with vehemẽt railing vpon it. The ploddinger sort of vnlearned Zoilists about London exclaim that it is a puft-vp stile, and full of prophane eloquence: others obiect vnto me the 25 multitude of my boystrous compound wordes, and the often coyning of Italionate verbes which end all in Ize, as mummianize, tympanize, tirannize. To the first array of my clumperton Antigonists this I answer, that my stile is no otherwise puft up, then any mãs should be which writes 30 with any Spirite; and whom would not such a deuine subiect put a high rauishte Spirite into? For the prophanesse of my eloquence, so they may tearme the eloquence of Sainct *Austen*, *Ierome*, *Chrysostome*, prophane, since none of them but takes vnto him farre more liberty of Tropes, 35 Figures, and Metaphors, and alleadging Heathen examples and Histories.

19 heanie *Q*. 20 tares: there] *Gro.*: tares, there *Q*.

To the second rancke of reprehenders that complain of my boystrous compound wordes, and ending my Italionate coyned verbes all in Ize, thus I replie: That no winde that blowes strong but is boystrous, no speech or wordes of any power or force to confute or perswade but mustbee swelling and boystrous. For the compounding of my wordes, therein I imitate rich men who, hauing gathered store of white single money together, conuert a number of those small little scutes into great peeces of gold, such as double Pistols and Portugues. Our English tongue of all languages most swarmeth with the single money of monasillables, which are the onely scandall of it. Bookes written in them and no other seeme like Shop-keepers boxes, that containe nothing else saue halfe-pence, three-farthings, and two-pences. Therefore what did me I, but hauing a huge heape of those worthlesse shreds of small English in my *Pia maters* purse, to make the royaller shew with them to mens eyes, had thẽ to the compounders immediately, and exchanged them foure into one, and others into more, according to the Greek, French, Spanish, and Italian?

Come, my maisters, inure your mouths to it, and neuer trust me but when you haue tride the commodity of carrying much in a small roome, you will, like the Apothecaries, 2* 3 vse more com-|pounds then simples, and graft wordes as men do their trees to make them more fruitfull. My vbraided Italionate verbes are the least crime of a thousand, since they are growne in generall request with euery good Poet.

Besides, they carrie farre more state with them then any other, and are not halfe so harsh in their desinence as the old hobling English verbes ending in R; they expresse more then any other verbes whatsoeuer, and their substantiues would be quite barraine of verbs but for that ending. This word Mummianizd in the beginning of my first Epistle is shrewdly called in question; for no other reason that I can conceiue, but that his true deriuatiue, which is Mummy, is somewhat obscure also: To Phisitions and their confectioners it is as familiar as Mumchaunce amongest Pages, being nothing

else but mans flesh long buried and broyled in the burning sands of Arabia. Hereupon I haue taken vp this phrase of Ierusalems Mummianized earth, (as much to say as Ierusalems earth manured with mans flesh.) Expresse who can the
5 same substance so briefly in any other word but that. A man may murder any thing if hee list in the mouthing, and grinde it to powder extempore betwixt a huge paire of iawes: but let a quest of calme censors goe vpon it twixt the houres of sixe and seauen in the morning, and they will
10 in their graue wisdoms subscribe to it as tollerable and significant.

Madde heads ouer a dish of stewd prunes are terrible mockers: ô, but the other pint of wine cuts the throat of *Spencer* and euerie body. To them I discend by degrees of
15 Apologie, who condemne me all to vineger for my bitternesse. It will bee some of their destinies to carrie the vineger bottle ere they die, for being so desperate in preiudice. No more adoe, but if they wilbe good Costerdmungers or Vintners, they must make choise of such fruit
20 and wine which is sweetly sowr and pleasantly sharp. The Bee is a creature not so bigge as a Wart with thorough hairs on an old wiues chin, yet he is priuiledged, in so much as he is free of Honny lane, to bestir him with his sting as ordinarily as a Sergeant with his mace. Then wherefore
25 should they hate vs for our sting that bring forth Honny as well as they?

Singular happie are those that are acquainted with the true | mixture of Alchimists musicall gold, and can, with 2* 3v *Platoes Gorgias*, proue vnrighteousnesse true godlinesse with
30 a breath; they shall be prouided for sumptuously, when sooth and verity may walke melancholy in Marke Lane. Wise was Saint *Thomas* that choose rather to go preach to the Indians then his owne countrey men. There he might be sure to haue gold inough, here is none. Some write he
35 was slaine at Malaqua, a prouince of that countrey. It is better to be slaine abroad then liue at home without money.

4 manured *Q.*)] *after* say *in l.* 3 *Q.* 35 countrey It *Q.*

Haue at you, backebiters, with a bargaine; raile vpon me till your tongues rotte, short cut and long-taile, for groats a peece euery quarter. Mince mee betwixt your teeth as small as Oatmeale, I care not, so I haue Crownes for your scofs; Without paying me any Tribute, as it seemes you spare not 5 to doe it, but the best is, bring you as many needles as you will, I haue Loadstones to touch them. There is a mountaine in *Cyrenaica* consecrated to the South-wind, which if it be toucht with a mans hand, there arise exceeding boystrous blastes, that tosse and turmoile the sands like waues 10 of the Sea. As great a miracle as that in me is experienst, for let me but touch a peece of paper, there arise such stormes and tempestes about my eares as is admirable. Euen of sands and superficiall bubbles they will make hideous waues and dangerous quicke-sands. This is my last will 15 and Testament: those that tosse at me, ile tosse at them againe if I can, alwayes prouided it bee not a Tennice-play of Pots and Cups, like the Centaurs feast. Diuinity is the ground-worke of my Booke, no more herein will I doe then shall haue his ground from Diuinity. Farewell, Paules 20 Church-yard, till I see thee next, which shall not be long.

Tho. Nashe.

22 *This epistle is followed by a cancel leaf for* X 3, *which, so far as it differs from that originally issued, will be found in the footnote on pages* 158–9. *The rest of the book consists of the sheets of the first edition, from* A *onwards.*

THE
VNFORTVNATE TRAVELLER

Entry in the Stationers' Register:

xvij^mo die Septembris [1593].

John wolf / Entred for his Copie vnder th[e h]andes of the [Arch] Bishop of Canterburie and the wardens, A booke intituled the vnfortunate travellour. . . . . vj^d

(*S. R.*, ed. Arber, II. 636.)

Editions: (1) *Early:*

1594 (A). [head ornament] | THE | VNFORTVNATE | TRAVELLER. | *Or*, | The life of Iacke Wilton. | *Qui audiunt audita dicunt.* | Tho. Naſhe. | [device] | LONDON, | Printed by T. Scarlet for C. Burby, & are to be ſold at his | ſhop adioyning to the Exchange. | 1594.

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A–O⁴. (A 1) Title, *v.* blank. A 2 '*To the right Honorable Lord* Henrie Wriothsley . . .' *Rom.* R-T. [almost entirely cut off in copy used, possibly *The Epistle Dedicatorie.*] (A 3) 'To the Gentlemen Readers.' *Ital. and Rom.* (A 3)^v 'The Induction to the dapper Mounsier Pages . . .' *Ital. and Rom.* R-T. The Induction to the Pages. (A 4)^v blank. B. 'THE VNFORTVNATE TRAVELLER.' *B. L., Rom. and Ital.* R-T. The vnfortunate Traueller. (O 4)^v blank.

Signatures are in Black Letter, except that of A 2, which is Roman with Italic numeral. A 3 is not signed. Fourth leaves not signed.

Catch-words: A 2. of A 3^v. *which* B 1. and C 1. you D 1. they E 1. of F 1. (slot-)ten, G 1. to H 1. ouer I 1. eies, K 1. It L 1. com-(pelled) M 1. (coun-)saile N 1. Heres O 1. I (All in Black Letter, except A 2 and F 1 in Roman, and A 3^v in Italic.)

Copy used: That in the British Museum (96. b. 17. (2.)). Some of the running-titles have been shorn off in this copy. I have been unable to refer to any other.

1594 (B). THE | VNFORTV-| *nate Traueller.* | OR, | The life of Iacke Wilton. | Newly corrected and aug-|mented. | *Qui audiunt audita dicunt.* | THO. NASHE. | [ornament] | LONDON, | Imprinted by Thomas Scarlet | for Cuthbert Burby. | 1594. [Within border.]

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A-M⁴. (A 1) Title, *v.* blank. A 2 '*The Induction to the dapper Mounsier Pages of the Court.*' *Rom. and Ital.* R-T. *The Induction to the Pages.* A 3 'The vnfortunate Traueller.' *B. L., Rom. and Ital.* R-T. The vnfortunate [*or* Vnfortunate] Traueller. (M 4)ᵛ blank.

The running-title on sheets B, C, D, I, K is in larger type than that on other sheets, while the number of lines to the inch and the general style of the workmanship also differ considerably, showing that these sheets were executed by a different printer from the others. See below, *Note on the printing of the second edition.*

Signatures are in Black Letter, except that of A 2, which is in Roman. Leaf M 2 is signed O 2. Fourth leaves not signed.

Catch-words: A 2. wont A 3. troth B 1. bet-(ter) C 1. where D 1. domi-(nion) E 1. swolne F 1. againe G 1. of H 1. (famili-)aritie I 1. crownes K 1. (in-)terpretation (?) L 1. Heres M 1. I (All in Black Letter, except that of A 2, which is in Roman. That of K 1 is almost entirely cut off in the copy used, as also in that at Rowfant.)

Copy used: That in the Bodleian Library (Wood, 31. C. (3.))

(2) *Modern Editions:*

1883–4 (Gro.) The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe . . . edited by A. B. Grosart. Vol. v, pp. 1–186.

From the copy of edition **A** in the British Museum.

1892 (Gosse) The Unfortunate Traveller or the Life of Jack Wilton: with an essay on the life and writings of Thomas Nash by Edmund Gosse. London: Printed and issued by Charles Whittingham & Co. at the Chiswick Press, MDCCCXCII.

From edition **A**. It is not stated by whom, or from what copy of the original, this edition was prepared, but I am informed by the publishers that the work was executed under the supervision of Mr. Gosse. So far as my observation extends, it is a very accurate

reproduction of the first edition, by a long way the most accurate of any reprint of a work of Nashe which is known to me. The spelling and punctuation of the original is retained, only a few obvious misprints, such as those of commas for full stops and the like, being corrected. In the absence of notes of any kind it is impossible to tell whether the very occasional verbal deviations are intentional or not. I should say that I have not noticed any which could not well come within this category.

1903. (The present edition.)

From the copy of edition **B** in the Bodleian Library, with collations from the copy of **A** at the British Museum. As stated below, I am very doubtful whether all the differences between the two editions are due to the author, and in a considerable number of cases have felt bound to recur to the readings of the first edition.

It may be mentioned that edition **B** is very badly printed from worn type on poor paper. Hence one constantly meets with letters that are so imperfect or so blurred that it is quite impossible to be certain of their identity, for instance e is often indistinguishable from c and n from u. It would evidently have been useless to record all these doubtful letters, and I have therefore noted as misprints those cases alone in which the letter used seemed to be certainly or almost certainly a wrong one.

Further, it may be remarked that **B** frequently omits the hyphen when such a word as 'within' or 'thereby' is divided at the end of a line. The omission is clearly without significance, and I have therefore generally ignored it and printed the word either as one or with a hyphen according as it appeared in the first edition.

Readings marked *Q* are in the spelling of **A**, and therefore differ occasionally from that given in the text.

Note on the printing of the second edition (**B**).

It will be found that a clear understanding of the manner in which the printing of the second edition of *The Vnfortunate Traueller* was executed will be of assistance to us in forming an opinion on the relative merits of the two editions, and on the question as to what extent the variations in the second represent changes made by the author.

The book was clearly the work of two printers. This is indicated both by the varying size of the headline and by

the great difference in the workmanship in certain sheets. Further, the number of lines to the inch varies in the two sets of sheets into which the book may, on the ground of the differences just mentioned, be divided, showing that either the body of the type was of a different size or different leads were employed. The face of the type appears also to differ, but, on account of the imperfect execution, especially of one printer's portion, and the greatly worn condition of the type, it is difficult to speak with complete certainty on this point.

The distribution of the work between the two printers, whom we may call *X* and *Y*, is as follows. I add in each case the number of lines to the page in each sheet, taking no notice of exceptional pages such as those in which verse is introduced, and one (D 2) in which a single word forms an additional line, in order evidently to bring a paragraph to a conclusion on the page.

Sheet A (39) is the work of *X*.

Sheets B, C (40) and D (39) are the work of *Y*.

Sheets E (39) and F, G, H (40) are the work of *X*.

Sheets I, K (40) are the work of *Y*.

Sheets L, M (38) are the work of *X*.

With reference to the number of lines to the page I need only say that the thirty-eight of the last two sheets is due to the fact that in these the first edition, which had thirty-eight throughout, is followed page for page and approximately line for line. The number of lines in other sheets was evidently determined by the amount of matter that the printer wished to get into them. The whole work occupies, as may be seen by reference to the description of the editions, a smaller number of pages in **B** than in **A**.

It is obvious that when the execution of a book is shared between two printers, it is most convenient, almost indeed necessary, to divide the copy at the end of a leaf, whether it is in manuscript or in the form of a printed book, and that in the latter case it would be most natural to divide at the end of a sheet. We find that ends of sheets correspond

in two cases in the two editions: thus D^{B}[1] ends as E^{A}, and K^{B} as M^{A}. In the latter case the correspondence is exact, in the former there is a difference of six words, which in **A** begin sheet F, but in **B** end sheet D. They are the closing words of a sentence, and it seems natural to suppose that the *Y* printer added them to his copy[2], to save the trouble of ending his portion with a full line. As a matter of fact he has not done so and these words appear in **B** to end a paragraph, which they were probably not intended to do.

Consideration will, I think, show that the work must have been carried out in the following manner. First *X* set up sheet A. Then he handed over the copy, as far as the end of E^{A}, to *Y*, who set it up, making exactly three sheets of it. In the meantime *X* started again from F^{A}, and, while *Y* was setting up B, C, D^{B}, executed sheets E, F, G, H^{B}. They then again divided what remained of the copy, *Y* continuing from where *X* had left off and setting up sheets I, K^{B}, while *X* completed the last two sheets, L and M.

Note on the Editions:

The second edition of *The Vnfortunate Traueller* seems hitherto, strangely enough, to have generally escaped notice, and this in spite of the fact that it bears on the title-page the words 'Newly corrected and augmented,' and that there is a copy in a library no less well known than the Bodleian[3].

[1] By this notation I mean sheet D in edition **B**.

[2] I assume here that **B** was printed throughout from a copy of **A**. There can be, I think, no doubt that this was actually the case, but the point will be discussed later.

[3] The only other copy of this edition at present known to me is in Mr. Locker-Lampson's Library at Rowfant, and unfortunately wants the title-page. The compilers of the catalogue of this library in 1886 noted that the arrangement of the text in this copy differed from that of the copy of the book in the British Museum, but were unaware that there was one in the Bodleian with which it corresponded. I am informed by Mr. W. W. Greg, who very kindly examined the Rowfant copy for me, that the statement in the catalogue that it contains the dedication to the Earl of Southampton is an error.

It differs from the first edition in the following respects:

(1) The dedication to the Earl of Southampton is omitted.

(2) Two short passages are added (see p. 247, ll. 21–2, and p. 280, ll. 18–20), and there are throughout numerous minor changes in wording. In three instances complete sentences, each of about one line in length, are omitted (see p. 266, ll. 18–9, p. 268, ll. 26–7, and p. 278, ll. 33–4). These latter are probably mere errors, as in every case the sense of the passage suffers considerably by the omission.

(3) There are a number of changes in the punctuation and paragraph-division.

(4) The corrections indicated in the errata of the first edition are all made.

(5) The date at the end is omitted.

In order to decide which of these editions represents the author's final text it is necessary to consider the following points: (1) whether **B** was printed from a copy of **A**, or whether the variations between the two editions can be due to their having been set up from different manuscripts; (2) if we decide that **B** was actually printed from **A**, whether the differences are due to deliberate correction on the part of the author or some other person; whether they are changes introduced by the printer, or at his request, for his own convenience, or, lastly, whether they are due to printers' errors.

It may be said without hesitation that at least the last two sheets of **B** were certainly printed from **A**, for they correspond page for page with the last two of that edition. In the case of the other sheets we have no such direct proof that the same course was followed, but what evidence there is seems to point to this. It would be the usual and natural course; the manner of distribution of the work between the two printers is most easily explained on that assumption, and we have nowhere the slightest evidence of the use of an independent manuscript. Further, we find certain peculiarities in the second edition which seem somewhat more easily to be explained by supposing corrections to have

been made in the first edition (or in the proofs of the second) than by supposing a separate copy to have been before the compositor. These, though individually trifling, seem when taken together to strengthen the case.

On p. 229, l. 34, by the alteration of *on* to *of* in the phrase *if those that were sicke of this maladie slept on it, they neuer wakt more*, an entirely new sense is produced, and this new sense, which is evidently the correct one, absolutely requires that the phrase should form a separate sentence. The fact that it is merely divided from what precedes by a comma, as in **A**, seems to me a strong reason for concluding that it was printed from **A**.

On p. 236, l. 10, we have what appears to be a correction of **A** only partially carried out, the readings being *farre be it my vnder age argumentes shoulde intrude* **A**: *farre be it from my vnder-age arguments should intrude* **B**. I suspect that it was intended also to correct *shoulde* to *to*, but by mistake the second part of the correction was passed over.

On p. 263, l. 21, we have *wooe women* **A**: *wooe a women* **B**. This looks like imperfect correction for *wooe a woman*.

Lastly, on p. 292, ll. 31–3, we have in **A** the three verbs *swells*, *raues*, and *doates*, all in the indicative mood. In **B** the first and last of these are altered to the subjunctive, appearing as *swell* and *doate*, but *raues* stands as in **A**. In all these cases and in some others like them, but of less significance, which I cannot here notice, the text of **B** seems more naturally to be explained as due to correction of **A** than as being that of an independent manuscript[1].

If we then conclude, as I think we must, that **B** was printed from a copy of **A**, we have next to consider to

[1] I fully recognize that instances of this nature are far from amounting to conclusive proof, so far indeed that it may seem to some otiose to give them. At the same time, perhaps others will agree with me in thinking that were I, while affirming that **B** was printed from a corrected copy of **A**, to be unable to bring forward cases of what appear to be corrections wrongly interpreted or carelessly carried out by the printer, this would of itself be a strong reason for refusing assent to my theory.

what extent the differences between the two editions can be set down to deliberate correction on the part of the author.

A study of the collations given can, I believe, lead to but one conclusion, namely, that a large number of the changes are certainly intentional alterations which can only have been made with the object of improving the style. It is manifestly impossible here to call attention to all of these individually, but I would especially instance the numerous variations on B 1v and B 2. Another striking example occurs on B 2v, where **A** has *Resteth no waie for you to climbe sodainly, but by doing some straunge stratageme, that the like hath not bene heard of heeretofore, and fitly at this instant occasion is ministred.* In **B** this runs *Resteth no way for you to clime sodenly, but by doing some rare stratageme, the like not before heard of, and fitlie at this time occasion is offered.* The shortening seems to be due to the desire for conciseness which is apparent in a great number of the alterations; the substitution of *rare* for *straunge* supplies a more appropriate and, in the context, more euphonious word; that of *time* for *instant* suggests that the corrector may have noticed the possibility of the latter word being mistakenly read as an adjective, while, lastly, *ministered* was perhaps rejected as, in the circumstances, somewhat pedantic or high-flown.

Besides such changes as these there are, however, a number on K 4 which, I think, may possibly be due to an entirely different cause. As I have already said in describing the edition, **B** was the work of two printers, whom, to distinguish them, I called *X* and *Y*. Now the last two sheets executed by *Y*, namely I and K, correspond to two sheets and about two and three-quarter pages of **A**, for the opening words of I in **B** are slightly more than a quarter of the way down K 3v in **A**. He would of course be obliged so to arrange his work as he went on, that when he came to the end of the second sheet these extra two and three-quarter pages should be all taken up.

On K 4, the last page but one of his portion, we find

a number of changes all tending to shorten the text. These readings cannot possibly be corrections; the text is in no case improved and in one instance becomes almost unintelligible. I suggest therefore that the printer, on coming to the end of K 3v, may have found that, by some miscalculation, he had still two and a half pages of copy to get into two pages of print (i. e. some five or six lines too much), and that, in order to render this possible, he himself, perhaps with the consent of the author, made the alterations in question [1].

Of other changes there are a certain number for which I can suggest no reason whatever, and there are a few which, while they are apparently meant for corrections, seem to be the work of some person who had not thoroughly considered the sense of the passage which he was altering. Some of these may be due to the vagaries of the compositor, but the book as a whole is not particularly carelessly, though very badly, printed, the number of ordinary misprints not being unusually high for works of this class.

Besides changes in wording we find a great number of differences in punctuation. It has of course been impossible to note all these, and beyond those by which the sense is affected only a few which seemed of more than usual importance have been given. One general tendency in these changes may perhaps be noted, namely, the very frequent running of two sentences into one, especially at the end of a paragraph [2].

There is further a considerable difference in paragraph-division in the two editions. On the whole perhaps **B** is superior in this respect, but there is really very little to choose between the two editions, and I have frequently

[1] If it be asked why it is not on the last page of *Y*'s work but on the last but one that these shortenings occur, I can only say that he may have found that the rest could be got in without further change. It would obviously be safer, if he thought shortening would be necessary, not to leave it until quite the end.

[2] Examples are especially numerous in the last two sheets. Others are noted at pp. 219. 6, 251. 33, 293. 11, &c.

thought it best to recur to A, believing as I do that in any case these paragraph-divisions are of no great authority[1].

In B there is somewhat greater regularity in the use of italics and capitals, but neither edition is particularly correct in these points.

To sum up; the second edition is evidently corrected, though in a number of cases the corrections seem hardly improvements and though in a few the readings are manifestly inferior to those of the first. Whether the changes were the work of Nashe himself it is, I think, not possible to say. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems natural to suppose that they were, and though we find in them nothing which especially betrays his hand the two passages added in the second edition seem more likely to have been inserted by the author than by any one else.

Even were the changes throughout for the worse and the second edition as a whole inferior to the first, it would be no proof that Nashe did not himself make them[2]. No one will maintain that *The Vnfortunate Traueller* is the first or the last book which, by the author, has been 'amended' to its detriment. The corrections seem for the most part to have been dictated by a desire for greater conciseness and precision of language; a direct mode of expression is substituted for one more roundabout, though sometimes more natural, and a simpler, more strictly correct word takes the

[1] A comparison of the variations in this respect between the two seems indeed to show almost conclusively that they were for the most part due to the printers, and not to correction by the author. There are fifty-one cases of a new paragraph being begun in B, where A runs on: of these forty-seven occur in the sheets printed by the *Y*-printer (B–D, I, K). There are twenty cases of running-on in B, where in A we have a new paragraph: of these sixteen occur in the work of the *X*-printer (E–H). In sheet A and in the two sheets where the first edition is followed page for page there are no changes at all. It seems to me almost impossible that such a strange distribution should be a mere matter of chance.

I should state that, to avoid complication, I have left out of account those cases, seven in number, in which, in one or other of the editions, it seems somewhat doubtful whether a new paragraph was intended.

[2] So far at least as they are corrections and not corruptions or changes such as those on K 4 which I have proposed to attribute to the printer.

place of one which, while more open to challenge, perhaps conveys an additional or finer shade of meaning. Such changes, I think, might easily be made by a classical scholar whose ideas of correctness were chiefly derived from the more severe Latin authors, and of correction from the way in which a tutor would deal with his pupils' Latin prose. English was at this time in too fluctuant a state to offer models of its own.

This, however, is a mere guess. That Nashe was frequently dissatisfied with the style of his works we know from his frequent complaints that they were written in haste and issued uncorrected, but of how he would, had occasion offered, have corrected them, we have no means of judging. The changes in the second and third editions of *Pierce Penilesse* are for the most part of quite a different nature from these here; the majority are corrections of single words and are rather on grounds of sense than of style.

But fortunately it is not now considered to be the duty of an editor to pick and choose among the variant readings of his author's works those which he himself would prefer in writings of his own, but merely to present those works as he believes the author to have intended them to appear. Whether, from a literary point of view, the first or the second edition of *The Vnfortunate Traueller* is the better, is perhaps open to question. But with this I have no concern whatever, at any rate here, for if an editor has reason to suppose that a certain text embodies later corrections than any other, and at the same time has no ground for disbelieving that these corrections, or some of them at least, are the work of the author, he has no choice but to make that text the basis of his reprint. I have therefore whenever possible, though sometimes, I own, not without regret, followed that edition which was said by the publisher to be 'Newly corrected and augmented.'

THE VNFORTVNATE TRAVELLER.

Or,

The life of Iacke Wilton.

Qui audiunt audita dicunt.

Tho. Nashe.

LONDON.
Printed by T. Scarlet for C. Burby, & are to be sold at his
shop adioyning to the Exchange.
1594.

To the right Honorable Lord Henrie Wriothsley, *Earle of South-hampton and Baron of Tichfeeld.* A 2[1]

INgenuous honorable Lord, I know not what blinde
5 custome methodicall antiquity hath thrust vpon vs, to
dedicate such books as we publish to one great man or
other; In which respect, least anie man should challenge
these my papers as goods vncustomd, and so extend vppon
them as forfeite to contempt, to the seale of your excellent
10 censure loe here I present them to bee seene and allowed.
Prize them as high or as low as you list: if you set anie price
on them, I hold my labor well satisfide. Long haue I
desired to approoue my wit vnto you. My reuerent
duetifull thoughts (euen from their infancie) haue been
15 retayners to your glorie. Now at last I haue enforst an
opportunitie to plead my deuoted minde. All that in this
phantasticall Treatise I can promise, is some reasonable
conueyance of historie, & varietie of mirth. By diuers of
my good frends haue I been dealt with to employ my dul
20 pen in this kinde, it being a cleane different vaine from other
my former courses of writing. How wel or ill I haue done
in it, I am ignorant: (the eye that sees round about it selfe,
sees not into it selfe:) only your Honours applauding en-
couragement hath power to make mee arrogant. Incom-
25 prehensible is the heigth | of your spirit both in heroical A 2v
resolution and matters of conceit. Vnrepriueably perisheth
that booke whatsoeuer to wast paper, which on the diamond
rocke of your iudgement disasterly chanceth to be ship-
wrackt. A dere louer and cherisher you are, as well of
30 the louers of Poets, as of Poets themselues. Amongst their
sacred number I dare not ascribe my selfe, though now and

1 *The whole of this dedication is omitted in B.*

then I speak English: that smal braine I haue to no further vse I conuert, saue to be kinde to my frends and fatall to my enemies. A new brain, a new wit, a new stile, a new soule will I get mee, to canonize your name to posteritie, if in this my first attempt I be not taxed of pre- 5 sumption. Of your gracious fauor I despaire not, for I am not altogether Fames out-cast. This handfull of leaues I offer to your view, to the leaues on trees I compare, which as they cannot grow of themselues except they haue some branches or boughes to cleaue too, & with whose iuice and 10 sap they be euermore recreated & nourisht; so except these vnpolisht leaues of mine haue some braunch of Nobilitie whereon to depend and cleaue, and with the vigorous nutriment of whose authorized commendation they may be continually fosterd and refresht, neuer wil they 15 grow to the worlds good liking, but forthwith fade and die on the first houre of their birth. Your Lordship is the large spreading branch of renown, from whence these my idle leaues seeke to deriue their whole nourishing: it resteth you either scornfully shake them off, as worm-eaten & 20 worthles, or in pity preserue them and cherish them, for some litle summer frute you hope to finde amongst them.

Your Honors in all humble seruice:

Tho: Nashe.

9 exeept *Q.* 15 contiually *Q.*

To the Gentlemen Readers.

Gentlemen, in my absence (through the Printers ouer-sight, and my bad writing) in the leaues of C. *and* D. *these errours are ouer-slipt:*

5 C. pag. 2. lin. 33. for sweating *read* sneaking. Pag. 3. li. 1. for hogges *read* barres. lin. 7. for Calipsus, *read* Rhæsus. P. 4. lin. 34. for Liue *read* I liue. Pag. 5. li. 14. for vpon his *read* vpon him his. Pag. 7. lin. 13. for drild *read* dyu'd. lin. 22. for colour) *read* collar nor his hat-
10 band).

D. Pag. 1. lin. 2. for blacke *read* cape. lin. 5. for fastens *read* thirleth. lin. 7. for badge *read* budge. lin. 8. for shinne *read* chinne. lin. 11. for in this begun *read* thinking in. Pag. 3. lin. 33. for increased then, *read* inclosed them.
15 Pag. 5. lin. 8. for threed button, *read* brest like a thred bottom. Pag. 8. lin. 3. for Essa *read* Ossa. lin. 4. for dissolution *read* desolation. lin. 13 betweene also *and* but, *read* If you know Christianitie, you know the Fathers of the Church also. lin. 18. for quocunque *read* qua gente.

20 *Other literall faults there are which I omit.*

Yours *T. N.*

1 *The whole of this is omitted in* B. 4 *Sheets* C *and* D *of ed.* A *correspond with p.* 218, *l.* 3, *to p.* 237, *l.* 11, *of this edition.* 8 *read*] *Gro.*: *eead Q.* 14 increafed *Q.* 17 also, *and* but *read Q.* 18 Farhers *Q.* 21 *This epistle is followed in A by the Induction to the Pages and by the work itself, here reprinted from B.*

THE VNFORTVnate Traueller.

OR,

The life of Iacke Wilton.

Newly corrected and augmented.

Qui audiunt audita dicunt.

THO. NASHE.

LONDON,
Imprinted by Thomas Scarlet
for Cuthbert Burby.
1594.

The Induction to the dapper Mounsier Pages of the Court. A 2

GAllant Squires, haue amongst you: at Mumchaunce I meane not, for so I might chaunce come to short
5 commons, but at *nouus*, *noua*, *nouum*, which is in English, newes of the maker. A proper fellow Page of yours called *Iack Wilton* by me commends him vnto you, and hath bequeathed for wast paper here amongst you certaine pages of his misfortunes. In anie case keepe them
10 preciously as a *priuie* token of his good will towardes you. If there bee some better than other, he craues you would honor them in theyr death so much as to drie & kindle Tobacco with them: for a need he permits you to wrap veluet pantofles in them also, so they bee not woe begone
15 at the heeles, or weather-beaten, lyke a blacke head with graie hayres, or mangie at the toes, lyke an Ape about the mouth. But as you loue good fellowship and ames ace, rather turne them to stop mustard-pottes, than the Grocers should haue one patch of them to wrap mace in: a strong
20 hot costly spice it is, which aboue all things he hates. To anie vse about meat & drinke put them to and spare not, for they cannot doe theyr countrie better seruice. Printers are madde whoorsons, allowe them some of them for napkins. Iost a little neerer to the matter & the purpose.
25 *Memorandum*, euerie one of you after the perusing of this pamphlet is to prouide him a case of ponyardes, that if you come in companie with anie man which shall dispraise it or speak against it, you may straight crie *Sic respondeo*, and giue him the stockado. It standes not with your
30 honours (I assure ye) to haue a gentleman and a page abusde in his absence. Secondly, whereas you were | wont A 2v to swere men on a pantofle to be true to your puisant order,

21 &] *or A*. 29 stackado *B*.

you shall sweare them on nothing but this Chronicle of the king of Pages hence forward. Thirdly, it shall be lawfull for anie whatsoeuer to play with false dice in a corner on the couer of this foresayd Acts and Monuments. None of the fraternitie of the minorites shall refuse it for a pawne 5 in the times of famine and necessitie. Euerie Stationers stall they passe by, whether by daie or by night, they shall put off theyr hats too, and make a low legge, in regard their grand printed Capitano is there entombd. It shalbe flat treason for anie of this fore-mentioned catalogue of the 10 point trussers once to name him within fortie foote of an alehouse: marry, the tauerne is honorable. Many speciall graue articles more had I to giue you in charge, which your wisdomes waiting together at the bottom of the great chamber staires, or sitting in a porch (your parliament house), 15 may better consider off than I can deliuer: onely let this suffice for a tast to the text, and a bitte to pull on a good wit with, as a rasher on the coles is to pull on a cup of Wine.

Heigh passe, come alofte: euerie man of you take your places, and heare *Iacke Wilton* tell his owne Tale. 20

2 *shalbe A.* 12 *ale-house. Marry A*: alehouse, mary *B.* 16 *of A.*

The vnfortunate Traueller.

ABout that time that the terror of the world and feauer quartane of the French, *Henrie* the eight (the onely true subiect of Chronicles), aduanced his
5 standard against the two hundred and fifty towers of *Turney* and *Turwin*, and had the Emperour and all the nobilitie of *Flanders*, *Holand*, & *Brabant* as mercenarie attendants on his ful-sayld fortune, I, *Iacke Wilton*, (a Gentleman at least,) was a certain kind of an appendix or page, belonging or
10 appertaining in or vnto the confines of the English court; where what my credit was, a number of my creditors that I cosned can testifie: *Cœlum petimus stultitia*, which of vs al is not a sinner? Bee it knowen to as many as will paie mony inough to peruse my storie, that I folowed the court
15 or the camp, or the campe and the court, when *Turwin* lost her maidenhead, and opened her gates to more than *Iane Trosse* did. There did I (soft, let me drinke before I go anie further) raigne sole king of the cans and blacke iackes, prince of the pigmeis, countie palatine of cleane straw and
20 prouant, and, to conclude, Lord high regent of rashers of the coles and red herring cobs. *Paulô maiora canamus.* Well, to the purpose. What stratagemicall acts and monuments doo you thinke an ingenious infant of my yeeres might enact? you will say, it were sufficient if he slur a die,
25 pawn his master to the vtmost peny, and minister the oath of the pantofle arteficially. These are signes of good education, I must confesse, and arguments of In grace and vertue to proceed. Oh, but *Aliquid latet quod non patet*,

8 lest *A*. 12 testifie, *Q*: testifie. *Gro*. 14–5 the campe or the court, or the court & the camp *A*. 21–2 *canamus*: well *A*. 23 yeeres] age *A*. 26 on the pantoffle *A*.

theres a further path I must trace: examples confirme; list, lordings, to my proceedings. Who so euer is acquainted with the state of a campe vnderstandes that in it be many quarters, and yet not so many as on *London* bridge. In those quarters are many companies: Much companie, much 5 knauery, as true as that olde adage, Much curtesie, much subtiltie. Those companies, lyke a greate deale of corne, do yeeld some chaffe; the corne are cormorants, the chaffe are good fellowes, which are quickly blowen to nothing wyth bearing a light heart in a lyght purse. Amongest 10 this chaffe was I winnowing my wittes to liue merrily, and A 3v by my | troth so I did: the prince could but command men spend their bloud in his seruice, I could make them spend al the mony they had for my pleasure. But pouertie in the end partes friends; though I was prince of their purses, 15 & exacted of my vnthrifte subiects as much liquid alleageance as any keisar in the world could doe, yet where it is not to bee had the king must loose his right: want cannot bee withstoode, men can doe no more than they can doe: what remained then, but the foxes case must help, 20 when the lions skin is out at the elbowes?

There was a Lord in the campe, let him be a Lord of misrule if you will, for he kept a plaine alehouse without welt or gard of anie iuybush, and sold syder and cheese by pint and by pound to all that came, (at the verie name of 25 sider I can but sigh, there is so much of it in renish wine now a daies.) Well, *Tendit ad sydera virtus*, thers great vertue belongs (I can tel you) to a cup of sider, and very good men haue sold it, and at sea it is *Aqua cœlestis*; but thats neither here nor there, if it had no other patrone but 30 this peere of quart pottes to authorize it, it were sufficient. This great Lord, this worthie Lord, this noble Lord, thought no scorne (Lord, haue mercie vpon vs) to haue his great veluet breeches larded with the droppinges of this daintie liquor, & yet he was an old seruitor, a cauelier of 35 an ancient house, as might appeare by the armes of his

1 farther *A*. 25 the] that *A*. 36 as it might *A*.

ancestors, drawen verie amiably in chalke on the in side of his tent dore.

He and no other was the man I chose out to damne with a lewd monilesse deuice ; for comming to him on a day, as
5 he was counting his barels and setting the price in chalke on the head of them, I did my dutie very deuoutly, and tolde his *alie* honor I had matters of some secrecy to impart vnto him, if it pleased him to grant me priuate audience. With me, yong *Wilton*, qd. he, mary, and shalt :
10 bring vs a pint of syder of a fresh tap into the three cups here, wash the pot: so into a backe roome hee lead me, where after he had spitte on his finger, and pickt of two or three moats of his olde moth eaten veluet cap, and spunged and wrong all the rumatike driuell frõ his ill fauored goats
15 beard, he bad me declare my minde, and thereupon hee dranke to mee on the same. I vp with a long circumstaunce, alias, a cunning shift of the seuenteenes, and discourst vnto him what entire affection I had borne him time out of minde, partly for the high | descent and linage from A 4
20 whence hee sprong, and partly for the tender care and prouident respect he had of pore souldiers, that, whereas the vastitie of that place (which afforded them no indifferent supply of drink or of victuals) might humble them to some extremitie, and so weaken their handes, he vouchsafed in
25 his owne person to be a victualler to the campe (a rare example of magnifisence and honorable curtesy), and diligently prouided that without farre trauell euerie man might for his money haue syder and cheese his belly full; nor did hee sell his cheese by the way onely, or his syder
30 by the great, but abast himself with his owne hands to take a shoomakers knife (a homely instrument for such a high personage to touch) and cut it out equally, lyke a true iusticiarie, in little pennyworths that it would doo a man good for to looke vpon. So likewise of his syder, the pore
35 man might haue his moderate draught of it (as there is a

1 ancestors] ancestrie *A*. 6 of euerie one of them *A*. 9 qd.] quoth *A*. 20 sprung *A*. 30 hands] *A* : stands *B*.

moderation in all things) as well for his doit or his dandiprat as the rich man for his half souse or his denier. Not so much, quoth I, but this Tapsters linnen apron which you weare to protect your apparell from the imperfections of the spigot, most amply bewrays your lowly minde. I 5 speake it with teares, too few such noble men haue wee, that will drawe drinke in linnen aprons. Why, you are euerie childes fellow; anie man that comes vnder the name of a souldier and a good fellowe, you will sit and beare companie to the last pot, yea, and you take in as good part 10 the homely phrase of Mine host, heeres to you, as if one saluted you by all the titles of your baronie. These considerations, I saie, which the world suffers to slip by in the channell of forgetfulnes, haue moued me, in ardent zeale of your welfare, to forewarne you of some dangers that haue 15 beset you and your barrels. At the name of dangers hee start vp, and bounst with his fist on the boord so hard that his tapster ouer-hearing him, cried, anone, anone, sir, by and by, and came and made a low legge and askt him what he lackt. Hee was readie to haue striken his tapster 20 for interrupting him in attention of this his so much desired relation, but for feare of displeasing mee hee moderated his furie, & onely sending for the other fresh pint, wild him looke to the barre, & come when he is cald with a deuils name. Well, at his earnest importunitie, after I had moistned my 25 lippes to make my lie run glibbe to his iourneies end, forward I went | as followeth. It chanced me the other night, amongest other pages, to attend where the King, with his Lordes and many chiefe leaders, sate in counsell: there, amongst sundrie serious matters that were debated, and 30 intelligences from the enemy giuen vp, it was priuily informed (no villains to these priuie informers) that you, euen you that I nowe speake to, had—(O would I had no tong to tell the rest; by this drinke it grieues me so I am

A 4v

4 weare before you, to *A*. 5 bewrais *A* : bewray *B*. minde, I *B*. 6 such humble spirited noble men *A*. 11 mine *Q*. 14 forgetfulnes] carelesnes *A*. 23 sending him for *A*. 26 iouencies *B*. 28 amongst *A*.

not able to repeate it.) Nowe was my dronken Lord readie to hang himselfe for the ende of the full point, and ouer my necke he throwes himself verie lubberly, and intreated me, as I was a proper young Gentleman and euer 5 lookt for pleasure at his handes, soone to rid him out of this hell of suspence, and resolue him of the rest: then fell hee on his knees, wrong his handes, and I thinke on my conscience, wepte out all the syder that he had dronke in a weeke before: to moue mee to haue pittie on him, he rose 10 & put his rustie ring on my finger, gaue mee his greasie purse with that single mony that was in it, promised to make mee his heire, and a thousand more fauours, if I woulde expire the miserie of his vnspeakable tormenting vncertaintie. I, beeing by nature inclined to *Mercie* (for 15 in deede I knewe two or three good wenches of that name), bad him harden his eares, and not make his eies abortiue before theyr time, and he should haue the inside of my brest turnd outward, heare such a tale as would tempt the vtmost strength of lyfe to attend it and not die in the 20 midst of it. Why (quoth I), my selfe that am but a poore childish well-willer of yours, with the verie thought that a man of your deserte and state by a number of pesants and varlets shoulde be so iniuriously abused in hugger mugger, haue wepte all my vrine vpwarde. The wheele vnder our 25 citie bridge carries not so much water ouer the citie, as my braine hath welled forth gushing streames of sorrow: I haue wepte so immoderatly and lauishly that I thought verily my palat had bin turned to pissing Conduit in *London*. My eyes haue bin dronke, outragiously dronke, wyth giuing 30 but ordinarie entercourse through their sea-circled Ilands to my distilling dreriment. What shal I say? that which malice hath saide is the meere ouerthrow and murther of your daies. Change not your colour, none can slander a cleere conscience to it self; receiue al your fraught of 35 misfortune in at once. |

9 before: to] *Gro.*: before, to *Q.* 20 middest *A.* 29 outragionsly *B.* 32 murder *A.* 33 your] *A*: these *B.*

B 1 It is buzzed in the Kings head that you are a secret frend to the Enemie, and vnder pretence of getting a License to furnish the Campe with syder and such like prouant, you haue furnisht the Enemie, & in emptie barrels sent letters of discouerie and corne innumerable. 5

I might wel haue left here, for by this time his white liuer had mixt it selfe with the white of his eye, and both were turned vpwards, as if they had offered themselues a faire white for death to shoote at. The troth was, I was verie loath mine hoste and I should part with drye lips: wherefore 10 the best meanes that I could imagine to wake hym out of his traunce, was to crie loud in his eare, Hoe, hoste, whats to pay? will no man looke to the reckoning here? And in plaine veritie it tooke expected effect, for with the noyse he started and bustled, lyke a man that had beene scarde 15 with fire out of his sleepe, and ran hastely to his Tapster, and all to belaboured him about the eares, for letting Gentlemen call so long and not looke in to them. Presently he remembred himselfe, and had like to fall into his memento againe, but that I met him halfe waies and askt his 20 Lordship what hee meant to slip his necke out of the collar so sodainly, and, being reuiued, stryke hys Tapster so hastely.

Oh (quoth he), I am bought and sold for dooing my Countrey such good seruice as I haue done. They are 25 afraid of me, because my good deedes haue brought me into such estimation with the Comminaltie. I see, I see, it is not for the lambe to liue with the wolfe.

The world is well amended (thought I) with your Sidership; such another fortie yeares nap together as *Epeminedes* 30 had, would make you a perfect wise man. Answere me (quoth he), my wise yong *Wilton*, is it true that I am thus vnderhand dead and buried by these bad tongues?

Nay (quoth I), you shall pardon me, for I haue spoken too much alreadie; no definitiue sentence of death shall march 35

10 parte to heauen with *A*. 12 Hoe] hough *A*. 19 fall] haue fallen *A*. 23 hastely] rashly *A*. 27 communalty *A*. 30 *Epemenides A*.

out of my well meaning lips; they haue but lately suckt milke, and shall they so sodainly change their food and seeke after bloud?

Oh, but (quoth he) a mans friend is his friend; fill the 5 other pint, Tapster: what said the King? did he beleeue it when he heard it? I pray thee say; I sweare by my Nobilitie, none in the world shall euer be made priuie that I receiued anie light of this matter by thee.

That firme affiance (quoth I) had I in you before, or else 10 I wold neuer haue gone so farre ouer the shooes, to plucke you out of the myre. Not to make manie words, (since you will needs knowe,) the King saies flatly, you are a myser and a snudge, and he neuer hoped | better of you. Nay, then B 1v (quoth he) questionles some Planet that loues not Syder 15 hath conspired against me. Moreouer, which is worse, the King hath vowed to giue *Turwin* one hot breakfast onely with the bungs that he will plucke out of your barrells. I cannot stay at thys time to report each circumstaunce that passed, but the onely counsell that my long 20 cherished kinde inclination can possibly contriue, is now in your old daies to be liberall: such victualls or prouision as you haue, presently distribute it frankely amongst poore Souldiers; I would let them burst their bellies with Syder and bathe in it, before I would run into my Princes ill 25 opinion for a whole sea of it. The hunter pursuing the Beauer for his stones, hee bites them off, and leaues them behinde for him to gather vp, whereby he liues quiet. If greedy hunters and hungrie tale-tellers pursue you, it is for a litle pelfe that you haue; cast it behinde you, neglect it, 30 let them haue it, least it breede a farther inconuenience. Credit my aduice, you shall finde it propheticall: and thus haue I discharged the part of a poore frend. With some few like phrases of ceremonie, Your Honors poore suppliant,

6 sweare to thee by *A*. 8 by] from *A*. 12 kings *A*: kinge *Gro.* 17 ouely *B*. wili *B*. 28 tale-tellers] tel-tales *A*. 29 that] which *A*. 30 lest *A*. further *A*. 32 haue I] I haue *A*. 33 your *Q*. poore] *om*. *A*.

and so forth, and Farewell, my good youth, I thanke thee and wil remember thee, we parted.

But the next day I thinke we had a doale of syder, syder in bowles, in scuppets, in helmets; and to conclude, if a man wold haue fild his boots full, ther he might haue 5 had it: prouant thrust it selfe into poore souldiers pockets whether they would or no. Wee made fiue peales of shot into the towne together of nothing but spiggots and faucets of discarded emptie barrels: euerie vnder-foot souldior had a distenanted tun, as *Diogenes* had his tub to sleepe in. I 10 my selfe got as manie confiscated Tapsters aprons as made me a Tent as big as anie ordinarie Commaunders in the field. But in conclusion, my welbeloued Baron of double beere got him humbly on hys mary-bones to the King, and complained he was old and striken in yeres, and had neuer 15 an heire to cast at a dogge, wherfore if it might please his Maiestie to take his lands into his hands, and allowe hym some reasonable pension to liue, he shuld be meruailously wel pleased: as for warres, he was weary of them; yet as long as his highnes ventred his owne person, he would 20 not flinch a foot, but make his wythered bodie a buckler to beare off any blow aduanced against him.

The King, meruailing at this alteration of his syder-merchant (for so he often pleasantly tearmd him), with a litle farther talk bolted out the whole complotment. Then 25 was I pitifully whipt for my holiday lye, though they made themselues merrie with it manie a Winters euening after.

For all this, his good asse-headed honor, mine host, B 2 per-|seuered in his former request to the King to accept his lands, & allow him a beadsmanrie or out-brothershippe 30

1 farewel *Q.* 3 *New par. A. Run on in B.* 15 neuer] nere *A.* 18 to liue on, *A.* meruailous *A.* 19 for the warres *A.* them, and yet *A*: them, yet *B.* 20 ventred] shoulde venture *A.* 22 blow that should be aduanced *A.* 23 this strange alteration *A.* 23–4 syder-merchant] great marchant of syder *A.* 24 hee woulde often pleasantly tearme him *A.* 25 further *A.* 26 although *A.* 27 a faire winters euening *A.* 28 *New par. A. Run on in B.* For all this] Yet notwithstanding *A.* asse-headed-honor *B.* 29 former simple request *A.* 29–30 accept of the surrender of his landes *A.*

of brachet: which through his vehement instancie tooke effect, and the King iestingly said, since he would needs haue it so, he would distraine on part of his land for impost of syder, which he was behinde with.

5 This was one of my famous atchieuements, insomuch as I neuer light vpon the like famous Foole: but I haue done a thousand better iests, if they had been bookt in order as they were begotten. It is pittie posteritie should be depriued of such precious Records; & yet there is no 10 remedie: and yet there is too, for when all failes, welfare a good memorie. Gentle Readers (looke you be gentle now since I haue cald you so), as freely as my knauerie was mine owne, it shall be yours to vse in the way of honestie.

Euen in this expedition of *Turwin* (for the King stood 15 not long a thrumming of buttons there) it hapned me fall in (I would it had faln out otherwise for his sake) with an vgly mechanicall Captain. You must thinke in an Armie, where trunchions are in their state-house, it is a flat stab once to name a Captaine without cap in hand. Well, sup-20 pose he was a Captaine, and had neuer a good cap of his owne, but I was faine to lend him one of my Lords cast veluet caps, and a weather-beaten feather, wherewith he threatned his soldiers a far off, as *Iupiter* is said with the shaking of his haire to make heauen & earth to quake. 25 Suppose out of the parings of a paire of false dice I apparelled both him and my selfe manie a time and oft: and surely, not to slander the diuell, if anie man euer deserued the golden dice the King of the *Parthians* sent to *Demetrius*, it was I: I had the right vayne of sucking vp 30 a die twixt the dints of my fingers; not a creuise in my hand but could swallow a quater trey for a neede; in the line of life manie a dead lift did there lurke, but it was nothing towards the maintenance of a familie. This Monsieur Capitano eate vp the creame of my earnings, and *Crede*

1 which at length, through *A*. 3 on] *A*: one *B*. 4 behinde hande with him, and neuer payd. *A*. 6 foole, but *Q*. 15 a] *om. A*. fall in] fall out *A*. 17 mechanichall *B*. 20 neuer] nere *A*. 27 deuill *A*. 29 I, I *A*: I. I *B*.

mihi, res est ingeniosa dare, any man is a fine fellow as long as he hath any money in his purse. That money is like the Marigold, which opens and shuts with the Sunne: if fortune smileth or one bee in fauour, it floweth; if the euening of Age comes on, or he falls into disgrace, it 5 fadeth and is not to be found. I was my crafts-master though I was but yong, and could as soone decline *Nominatiuo hic Asinus* as a greater Clearke; wherefore I thought it not conuenient my Soldado should haue my purs any longer for his drum to play vppon, but I would giue him 10 Iacke Drums entertainment and send him packing. |

B 2v This was my plot: I knewe a peece of seruice of Intelligence which was presently to be done, that required a man with all his fiue senses to effect it, and would ouerthrow anie foole that should vndertake it: to this seruice 15 did I animate and egge my foresaid costs and charges, alias, Senior veluet-cap, whose head was not encombred with too much forcast; and comming to him in his cabbin about dinner time, where I found him very deuoutly paring of his nayles for want of other repast, I entertaind him with this 20 solemne oration.

Captaine, you perceiue how nere both of vs are driuen, the dice of late are growen as melancholy as a dog, high men and low men both prosper alike, langrets, fullams, and all the whole fellowshippe of them will not affoord a man 25 his dinner; some other meanes must be inuented to preuent imminent extremitie. My state, you are not ignorant, depends on trencher seruice; your aduancement must be deriued from the valour of your arme. In the delaies of Siege, desert hardly gets a day of hearing; tis gowns must 30 direct and guns enact all the warres that is to be made against walls. Resteth no way for you to clime sodenly, but by doing some rare stratageme, the like not before heard of: and fitlie at this time occasion is offered.

5 falleth *A*. 7 was] *A*: were *B*. 12 *Run on in A*. 33 rare] straunge *A*. 33-4 stratageme, that the like hath not bene heard of heeretofore, *A*. 34 time] instant *A*. offered] ministred *A*.

There is a feate the King is desirous to haue wrought on some great Man of the Enemies side: marrie, it requireth not so much resolution as discretion to bring it to passe; and yet resolution inough should be showne in it too, being
5 so ful of hazardous ieopardie as it is: harke in your eare, thus it is: without more drumbling or pawsing, if you will vndertake it, and worke it through stitch (as you maye, ere the King hath determined which waie to goe about it), I warrant you are made while you liue, you need not care
10 which way your staffe falls; if it proue not so, then cut off my head.

Oh my Auditors, had you seene him how he stretcht out his lims, scratcht his scabd elbowes at this speach; how hee set his cap ouer his ey-browes like a polititian, and then
15 folded his armes one in another, and nodded with the head, as who would say, let the French beware for they shall finde me a diuell: if (I say) you had seene but halfe the actions that he vsed, of shrucking vp his shoulders, smiling scornfully, playing with his fingers on his buttons, and
20 biting the lip, you wold haue laught your face and your knees together. The yron being hot, I thought to lay on load, for in anie case I would not haue his humor coole. As before I laid open vnto him the briefe summe of the seruice, so now I began to vrge the honorablenes of it, and what a rare
25 thing it was to be a right polititian, how much esteemd of Kings & princes, | and how diuerse of meane Parentage B 3 haue come to bee Monarchs by it. Then I discourst of the quallities and properties of him in euery respect, how, like the Woolfe, he must drawe the breath from a man long
30 before he bee seene, how, like a Hare, he must sleepe with his eyes open, how, as the Eagle in his flying casts dust in the eyes of Crowes and other Fowles, for to blinde them, so hee must cast dust in the eyes of his enemies, delude their sight by one meanes or other, that they diue not into his

4 should be] shalbe *A*. 6 is. Without . . . pausing, if *A*. *Qy. read* is, without . . . pawsing: if? 16 would] should *A*. 17 deuill *A*. 18 actions] *A*: action *B*. 29 long] *om. A*. 31 in flying *A*.

subtleties: howe hee must be familliar with all and trust none, drinke, carouse, and lecher with him out of whom he hopes to wring any matter, sweare and forsweare, rather than be suspected, and, in a word, haue the Art of dissembling at his fingers ends as perfect as any Courtier.. 5

Perhaps (quoth I) you may haue some fewe greasie Cauailiers that will seeke to disswade you from it, and they will not sticke to stand on their three halfe penny honour, swearing and staring that a man were better be a hangman than an Intelligencer, and call him a sneaking Eauesdropper, 10 a scraping hedgecreeper, and a piperly pickethanke; but you must not be discouraged by their talke, for the most part of these beggarly contemners of wit are huge burlybond Butchers like *Aiax*, good for nothing but to strike right downe blowes on a wedge with a cleauing 15 beetle, or stand hammering all day vpon barres of yron. The whelpes of a Beare neuer growe but sleeping, and these Beare-wards hauing bigge lims shall be preferd though they doo nothing. You haue read stories, (Ile be sworne he neuer lookt in booke in his life,) howe many of the Romaine 20 worthies were there that haue gone as Spialls into their Enemies Campe? *Vlysses*, *Nestor*, *Diomed* went as spies together in the night into the Tents of *Rhæsus*, and intercepted *Dolon*, the spie of the Troians: neuer any discredited the trade of Intelligencers but *Iudas*, and he hanged him- 25 selfe. Danger will put wit into any man. *Architas* made a woodden Doue to flie; by which proportion I see no reason that the veryest blocke in the worlde shoulde dispayre of any thing. Though nature be contrary inclined, it may be altred; yet vsually those whom shee denies her ordinary 30 gifts in one thing, shee doubles them in another. That which the Asse wants in wit, hee hath in honesty; who euer sawe him kicke or winch, or vse any iades tricks?

2 drinke carouse *A.* 9 an hangman *A.* 10 sneaking] sweating *A. Corr. in Errata.* 13 these] those *A.* 14 *Ayax B.* 16 barres] hogges *A. Corr. in Errata.* 21 Spialls] spies *A.* 23 *Rhæsus*] *Calipsus A. Corr. in Errata.* 28 voryest *B.*

though he liue an hundred yeares you shall neuer heare that he breaks pasture. Amongst men, he that hath not a good wit, lightly hath a good yron memory, and he that hath neither of both, hath some bones to carry burthens.
5 Blinde men haue better noses than other | men: the buls B 3v
hornes serue him aswell as hands to fight withall: the Lyons pawes are as good to him as a pol-axe, to knocke downe anye that resist him: the bores tushes serue him in better steed than a sword and buckler: what neede the
10 snaile care for eyes, when hee feeles the way with his two hornes, as well as if he were as quicke sighted as a decypherer? There is a fish that hauing no wings supports herselfe in the aire with her finnes. Admit that you had neither wit nor capacitie, as sure, in my iudgement, there is
15 none equall vnto you in idiotisme, yet if you haue simplicitie and secrecie, serpents themselues wil thinke you a serpent; for what serpent is there but hydes his sting? and yet, whatsoeuer be wanting, a good plausible tongue in such a man of imployment can hardly be sparde, which, as the
20 fore-named serpent with his winding taile fetcheth in those that come nere him, so with a rauishing tale it gathers al mens harts vnto him: which if he haue not, let him neuer looke to ingender by the mouth, as rauens and doues do, that is, mount or be great by vndermining. Sir, I am
25 ascertained that all these imperfections I speak of in you haue their naturall resiance. I see in your face, that you wer born, with the swallow, to feed flying, to get much tresure and honor by trauell. None so fit as you for so important an enterprise: our vulgar polititians are but flies
30 swimming on the streame of subtiltie superficially in comparison of your singularitie, their blinde narrow eyes cannot pierce into the profundity of hypocrisie; you alone, with *Palamed*, can pry into *Vlysses* mad counterfeting, you can discerne *Achilles* from a chamber maide, though he be

2 Amongest *A*. 8 resists *A*. so the Bores *A*. 11 quicke] sharpe *A*. 17 hydeth *A*. 18 plausible alluring tong *A*. 29 vulgar reputed polititians *A*.

deckt with his spindle and distaffe: as *Ioue* dining with *Licaon* could not bee beguiled with humane fleshe drest like meate, so no humane braine may goe beyond you, none beguile you; you gull all, all feare you, loue you, stoup to you. Therefore, good sir, be ruld by me, stoup your for- 5 tune so low as to bequeath your selfe wholy to this busines.

This siluer-sounding tale made such sugred harmonie in his eares, that with the sweete meditation, what a more than myraculous polititian he should be, and what kingly promotion shuld come tumbling on him thereby, he could 10 haue found in his hart to haue packt vp hys pipes and to haue gone to heauen without a bait: yea, hee was more inflamed and rauishte with it than a yong man called *Taurimontanus* was with the *Phrigian* melodie, who was so incensed and fired therwith, that he would needs run 15 presently vpon it, and set a Curtizans house on fire that had angred him.

No remedie there was but I must help to furnish him with mony: I did so, as who will not make his enemie B 4 a bridge of gold to flie by? | Verie earnestly he coniurde 20 me to make no man liuing priuie to hys departure, in regard of his place and charge, and on his honor assured me his returne should be verie short and succesfull. I, I, shorter by the necke (thought I); in the meane time let this be thy posie, *I liue in hope to scape the rope.* 25

Gone he is; God send him good shipping to Wapping, and by this time, if you will, let him be a pitiful poore fellow and vndone for euer: for mine own part, if he had bin mine own brother, I could haue done no more for him than I did, for straight after his back was turnd, I went in 30 all loue and kindnes to the Marshall generall of the field, & certifide him that such a man was lately fled to the Enemie, & got his place begd for another immediately. What became of him after you shall heare. To the Enemie he went and offred his seruice, rayling egregiously against 35

5 Theefore *B.* 25 *I liue*] *Liue A. Corr. in Errata.* 29 haue haue done *B.* 33-4 immediately: what *B.* 35 against] on *A.*

the King of *England*; he swore, as he was a Gentleman
and a souldier, he would be reuenged on him; and let but
the King of *France* follow his counsel, he would driue him
from *Turwin* wals yet ere three daies to an end. All these
5 were good humors, but the tragedie followeth. The French
King hearing of such a prating fellow that was come,
desired to see him, but yet he feared treson, willing one of
his Minions to take vpon him his person, & he wold stand
by as a priuate person while he was examined. Why
10 should I vse anie idle delaies? In was Captaine gogs wounds
brought, after hee was throughly searched; not a louse in
his doublet was let passe, but was askt *Queuela*, and chargd
to stand in the Kings name; the molds of his buttons they
turnd out, to see if they were not bullets couered ouer
15 with thred; the cod-peece in his diuels breeches (for they
wer then in fashion) they said plainly was a case for a
pistol; if he had had euer a hob-naile in his shooes it had
hangd him, and hee should neuer haue known who had
harmd him; but, as lucke was, he had no myte of any
20 mettall about him, he tooke part with none of the foure
Ages, neyther the golden Age, the siluer Age, the brazen,
nor the yron Age; onely his purse was aged in emptines,
and I think verily a puritane, for it kept it selfe from any
pollution of crosses. Standing before the supposed King,
25 he was askt what he was, and wherefore he came. To
which in a glorious bragging humor he answered, that he
was a gentleman, a capten commander, a chiefe leader, that
came from the King of *England* vpon discontentment.
Questiond of the perticular cause, he had not a word to
30 blesse himselfe with, yet faine he would haue patcht out
a polt-foot tale, but (God knowes) it had not one true leg
to stand on.

Then began he to smell on the villaine so rammishly

4 three] ten *A*. 7 desired] was desirous *A*. willing] wherfore he wild *A*. 8 him] *om. A. Added in Errata*. 9 person] man *A*. whilest *A*: whild *B*. 19 no] not a *A*. 25–6 To the which *A*. 28 came away from *A*. 29 Questiond particular of the cause of his discontentment, hee had *A*. 31 God he knowes *A*. 33 *Run on in A*.

B 4v that none | there but was ready to rent him in pieces, yet the Minion King kept in his cholar, and propounded vnto him further, what of the King of Englands secrets (so aduantageable) he was priuy to, as might remooue him from the siege of Turwin in three daies. He said diuerse, 5 diuerse matters which askt longer conference, but in good honesty they were lies which he had not yet stampt. Hereat the true King stept forth, and commaunded to lay hands on the Lozell, and that he should be tortured to confesse the truth, for he was a spie and nothing else. 10

He no sooner sawe the wheele and the torments set before him, but he cryde out like a Rascall, and said he was a poore Captaine in the English Campe, suborned by one *Iacke Wilton* (a Noble mans Page), and no other, to come and kill the French King in a braueric and returne, 15 and that he had no other intention in the world.

This confession could not choose but mooue them all to laughter, in that he made it as light a matter to kill their King and come backe, as to goe to Islington and eate a messe of Creame and come home againe, nay, and besides 20 he protested that he had no other intention, as if that were not inough to hang him.

Adam neuer fell till God made fooles; all this could not keepe his ioynts from ransacking on the Wheele, for they vowed either to make him a Confessor or a Martyr with a 25 trice: when still he sung all one song, they told the King he was a foole, and that some shrowd head had knauishly wrought on him; wherefore it should stand with his honour to whip him out of the Campe and send him home. That perswasion tooke place, and soundly was he lasht out of 30 their liberties, and sent home by a Herrald with this message, that so the King his Master hoped to whip home all the English fooles very shortly: answere was returned, that that shortly was a long-lie, and they were shrewd fooles that should driue the French-man out of his King- 35

3 farther *A.* 25 with] in *A.* 27 that] *om. A.* shrewd *A.*
34 shortly] short lie (*the words divided by a thin space*) *A.* long lie *A.*

dome, and make him glad, with Corinthian *Dionisius*, to play the Schoolemaster.

The Herrald being dismist, our afflicted Intelligencer was calde *coram nobis*: how he sped, iudge you, but 5 something he was adiudged too. The sparrow for his lechery liueth but a yeare, he for his trechery was turnd on the toe, *Plura dolor prohibet.*

Here let me triumph a while, and ruminate a line or two on the excellence of my wit: but I will not breath neither 10 till I haue disfraughted all my knauerie.

Another Switzer Captaine that was farre gone for want of the | wench, I lead astray most notoriously, for he being C 1 a monstrous vnthrift of battle-axes (as one that cared not in his anger to bid flye out scuttels to fiue score of them) 15 and a notable emboweler of quart pots, I came disguised vnto him in the forme of a halfe crowne wench, my gowne and attyre according to the custome then in request. Iwis I had my curtsies in cue, or in quart pot rather, for they dyude into the verie entrailes of the dust, and I sympered 20 with my countenance like a porredge pot on the fire when it first begins to seethe. The sobriety of the circumstance is, that after hee had courted mee and all, and giuen me the earnest-penie of impietie, some sixe Crownes at the least for an antipast to iniquitie, I fained an impregnable 25 excuse to be gone, and neuer came at him after.

Yet left I not here, but committed a little more scutcherie. A companie of coystrell Clearkes (who were in band with Sathan, and not of anie Souldiers collar nor hat-band) pincht a number of good mindes to God-ward of their 30 prouant. They would not let a dram of dead-pay ouer-slip them; they would not lend a groat of the weeke to come, to him that had spent his money before this weeke was done. They out-faced the greatest and most magnanimious Seruitors in their sincere and finigraphicall cleane shirts

5 to *A*. 16 a halfe a crowne *A*. 19 dyude] drild *A*. *Corr. in Errata.* 28 collar nor hat-band] colour *A*. *Corr. in Errata to* collar nor his hat-band. 34 sinigraphicall *B*.

and cuffes. A Lowce (that was anie Gentlemans companion) they thought scorne of; their nere bitten beards must in a deuills name bee dewed euerye day with Rosewater; Hogges could haue nere a haire on their backs, for making them rubbing-brushes to rouse their Crab-lice. 5 They would in no wise permit that the moates in the Sunbeames should be full mouthd beholders of their cleane phinifide apparel; their shooes shined as bright as a slikestone; their hands troubled and foyled more water with washing, than the Cammell doth, that neuer drinkes till the 10 whole streame be troubled. Summarily, neuer anie were so fantasticall the one halfe as they.

My masters, you may conceaue of me what you list, but I thinke confidently I was ordained Gods scourge from aboue for their daintie finicalitie. The houre of their punishment 15 could no longer be proroged, but vengeance must haue at them at all a ventures. So it was, that the most of these aboue-named goose-quill Braggadoches were mere cowards and crauens, and durst not so much as throwe a pen-full of inke into the Enemies face, if proofe were made: wherefore 20 on the experience of their pusillanimitie I thought to raise the foundation of my roguerie.

What did I now but one day made a false alarum in the C iv quarter | where they lay, to try how they would stand to their tackling, and with a pittifull out-crie warned them to 25 flie, for there was treason a foote, they were inuironed and beset. Vpon the first watch worde of treason that was giuen, I thinke they betooke them to their heeles verie stoutly, left their penne and inke-hornes and paper behinde them for spoile, resigned their deskes, with the money that 30 was in them, to the mercie of the vanquisher, and in fine, left me and my fellowes (their foole-catchers) Lordes of the field: How wee dealt with them, their disburdened deskes canne best tell, but this I am assured, we fared the better for it a fortnight of fasting dayes after. 35

9 '*for* foyled *read* soyled?' *Gro.* 10 neuer] nere *A.* 13 *Run on in A.* 18 braccahadocheos *A.* 22 foundation] *A*: fountaine *B.* 23 *Run on in A.* 29 papers *A.* 30 them, for spoile resigned *B.*

I must not place a volume in the precincts of a pamphlet: sleepe an houre or two, and dreame that Turney and Turwin is wonne, that the King is shipt againe into England, and that I am close at harde meate at Windsore
5 or at Hampton Court. What, will you in your indifferent opinions allow me for my trauell no more signiorie ouer the Pages than I had before? yes, whether you will part with so much probable friendly suppose or no, Ile haue it in spite of your hearts. For your instruction and godly con-
10 solation, bee informed, that at that time I was no common squire, no vndertrodden torch-bearer; I had my feather in my cap as big as a flag in the fore-top; my French dublet gelte in the bellie as though (like a pig readie to be spitted) all my guts had bin pluckt out; a paire of side
15 paned hose that hung downe like two scales filled with Holland cheeses; my longe stock that sate close to my docke, and smoothered not a scab or a leacherous hairie sinew on the calfe of the legge; my rapier pendant like a round sticke fastned in the tacklings for skippers the
20 better to climbe by; my cape cloake of blacke cloth, ouer-spreading my backe like a thorne-backe, or an Elephantes eare, that hanges on his shoulders like a countrie huswiues banskin, which she thirles hir spindle on, & in consummation of my curiositie, my hands without glooues, all a more
25 French, and a blacke budge edging of a beard on the vpper lip, & the like sable auglet of excrements in the rising of the anckle of my chinne. I was the first that brought in the order of passing into the Court which I deriued from the common word *Qui passa* and the Heralds phrase of
30 armes *Passant*, thinking in sinceritie, he was not a Gentle-man, nor his armes currant, who was not first past by the Pages. If anie Prentise or other came into the Court that was not a Gentleman, I thought it was an indignitie to the

1 *Run on in A.* 5 What will *Q.* 6 trauell, no *Q.* 14 beene *A.* 18 of my legge *A.* 20 cape] blacke *A. Corr. in Errata.* 23 thirles] fastens *A. Corr. in Errata to* thirleth. 24 more] mode *Gro.* 25 budge] badge *A. Corr. in Errata.* 26 the first rising *A.* 27 chinne] shinne *A. Corr. in Errata.* 30 thinking in] in this begun *A. Corr. in Errata.*

preheminence of the Court to include such a one, and could not bee salude except wee gaue him Armes Passant, to make him a Gentleman. |

C 2 Besides, in Spaine, none passe anie farre way but he must be examined what he is, and giue three pence for his passe. 5

In which regard it was considered of by the common table of the cupbearers, what a perilsome thing it was to let anie stranger or out-dweller approch so neare the precincts of the Prince as the greate Chamber, without examining what hee was, and giuing him his passe: whereupon we 10 established the like order, but tooke no mony of them as they did; onely for a signe that he had not past our hands vnexamined, we set a red marke on their eares, and so let them walke as authenticall.

I must not discouer what vngodlie dealing we had with 15 the blacke iackes, or how oft I was crowned King of the drunkardes with a Court cuppe; let mee quietly descend to the waining of my youthfull daies, and tell a little of the sweating sicknes, that made me in a cold sweate take my heeles and runne out of England. 20

This sweating sicknes was a disease that a man then might catch and neuer goe to a hot-house. Manie Masters desire to haue such seruants as would worke till they sweate againe, but in those dayes hee that sweate neuer wrought againe. That Scripture then was not thought so necessarie 25 which sayes, Earne thy liuing with the sweat of thy browes, for then they earnd their dying with the sweat of their browes. It was inough if a fat man did but trusse his points, to turne him ouer the pearch: Mother *Cornelius* tub, why it was like hell, he that came into it neuer came out of it. 30

Cookes that stand continually basting their faces before the fire, were now all cashierd with this sweat into kitchin stuffe: their hall fell into the Kings hands for want of one of the trade to vphold it.

4 *Run on in A.* passe] compasse *A.* *Qy. read* can passe? 6 *Run on in A.* 13 their] either of his *A.* 14 them] him *A.* 15 *Run on in A.* 17 dronkards *A.* 31 *Run on in A.* 33 in to *A.* 34 vp hold *B.*

Felt makers and Furriers, what the one with the hot steame of their wooll new taken out of the pan, and the other with the contagious heat of their slaughter budge and connie-skinnes, died more thicke than of the pestelence: I haue
5 seene an old woman at that season, hauing three chins, wipe them all away one after another, as they melted to water, and left hir selfe nothing of a mouth but an vpper chap. Looke how in May or the heat of Summer we lay butter in water for feare it should melt away, so then were men faine
10 to wet their clothes in water as Diers doo, and hide themselues in welles from the heat of the Sunne.

Then happie was he that was an asse, for nothing will kill an asse but colde, and none dide but with extreame heate. The fishes called Sea-starres, that burne one another
15 by excessiue heate, were | not so contagious as one man C 2v that had the Sweate was to another. Masons paid nothing for haire to mixe their lyme, nor Glouers to stuffe their balls with, for then they had it for nothing; it dropped off mens heads and beards faster than anie Barber could
20 shaue it. O, if haire breeches had then been in fashion, what a fine world had it beene for Tailers; and so it was a fine world for Tailers neuerthelesse, for he that could make a garment sleightest and thinnest carried it awaie. Cutters, I can tell you, then stood vpon it to haue their Trade
25 one of the twelue Companies, for who was it then that would not haue his dublet cut to the skin, and his shirt cut into it too, to make it more cold. It was as much as a mans life was worth, ones to name a freeze ierkin; it was hye treason for a fat grosse man to come within fiue miles
30 of the Court. I heard where they dyde vp all in one Familie, and not a mothers childe escapde, insomuch as they had but an Irish rugge lockt vp in a presse, and not laid vpon anie bed neither. If those that were sicke of this maladie slept of it, they neuer wakde more. Phisitions with

1 *Run on in A.* 16 Mazons *B.* 23 awaie, Cutters *A*: awaie: Cutters *B.* 29 hye] *om. A.* grosse man] *A*: goose *B.* 33 neither, if *Q.* 34 of] on *A.*

their simples in this case wext simple fellowes, and knew not which way to bestirre them.

Galen might goe shooe the Gander for any good he could doo; his Secretaries had so long called him Diuine, that now he had lost al his vertue vpon earth. *Hippocrates* might 5 well helpe Almanacke-makers, but here he had not a word to say; a man might sooner catch the sweate with plodding ouer him to no end, than cure the sweate with anie of his impotent principles. *Paracelsus*, with his Spirite of the Butterie and his spirites of Mineralls, could not so much as 10 saye, God amend him, to the matter. *Plus erat in artifice quam arte*, there was more infection in the Phisition himselfe than his arte could cure. This Mortalitie first began amongst old men, for they, taking a pride to haue their breasts loose basted with tedious beards, kept their houses 15 so hot with their hayry excrements, that not so much but their verie walls sweat out salt-peeter with the smothering perplexitie: nay, a number of them had meruailous hot breaths, which sticking in the briers of their bushie beards, could not choose but (as close aire long imprisoned) in- 20 gender corruption.

Wiser was our Brother *Bankes* of these latter daies, who made his iugling horse a Cut, for feare if at anie time hee should foyst, the stinke sticking in his thicke bushie taile might be noysome to his Auditors. Should I tell you how 25 manie Purseuants with red noses, and Sergeants with precious faces, shrunke away in this Sweate, you would not beleeue me. Euen as the Salamander with his very sight | C 3 blasteth apples on the trees, so a Purseuant or a Sergeant at this present, with the verie reflexe of his fierie facies, was 30 able to spoyle a man a farre of. In some places of the world there is no shaddowe of the Sunne; *Diebus illis* if it had been so in *England*, the generation of *Brute* had died all and some. To knit vp this description in a pursnet, so feruent & scorching was the burning aire which inclosed them, 35

1 wexe *A*: were *Gro.*, *Gosse*. 3 *Run on in A.* 16 their] these *A*. 22 *Run on in A.* 35 inclosed them] increased then *A*. *Corr. in Errata.*

that the most blessed man then aliue would haue thought that God had done fairly by him if hee had turnd him to a Goate, for Goates take breath, not at the mouth or nose onely, but at the eares also.

5 Take breath how they would, I vowd to tarrie no longer among them. As at *Turwin* I was a demy souldier in iest, so now I became a Martialist in earnest. Ouer Sea with my implements I got mee, where hearing the King of *France* and the *Switzers* were together by the eares, I made 10 towards them as fast as I could, thinking to thrust my selfe into that Faction that was strongest. It was my good lucke or my ill (I know not which) to come iust to the fighting of the Battell; where I saw a wonderfull spectacle of blood-shed on both sides: here vnweeldie *Switzers* wal- 15 lowing in their gore, like an Oxe in his dung, there the sprightly *French* sprawling and turning on the stained grasse, like a Roach new taken out of the streame: all the ground was strewed as thicke with Battle-axes as the Carpenters yard with chips; the Plaine appeared like a quagmyre, 20 ouerspred as it was with trampled dead bodies. In one place might you behold a heape of dead murthered men ouerwhelmed with a falling Steede in stead of a toombe stone, in another place a bundell of bodies fettered together in their owne bowells; and as the tyrant Romane Em- 25 perours vsed to tye condemned liuing caytiues face to face to dead corses, so were the halfe liuing here mixt with squeazed carcases long putrifide. Anie man might giue Armes that was an actor in that Battell, for there were more armes and legs scattered in the Field that day than 30 will be gathered vp till Doomes-day: the French King him- selfe in this Conflict was much distressed, the braines of his owne men sprinkled in his face, thrice was his Courser slaine vnder him, and thrice was he strucke on the brest with a speare: but in the end, by the helpe of the *Venetians*, 35 the *Heluetians* or *Switzers* were subdude, and he crowned

6 amongst *A*. 14 here the vnwildie *A*. 17 all all the *B*.
20 was] *A*: were *B*. 21 yeu (?) *B*. 25 caitifes *A*.

a Victor, a peace concluded, and the Citie of *Millaine* surrendred vnto him as a pledge of reconciliation.

That Warre thus blowen ouer, and the seuerall Bands dissolued, like a Crowe that still followes aloofe where there is carrion, I flew me ouer to *Munster* in *Germanie*, which 5
C 3v an Anabaptisticall Brother, | named *Iohn Leiden*, kept at that instant against the Emperour and the Duke of *Saxonie*. Heere I was in good hope to set vpp my staffe for some reasonable time, deeming that no Citie would driue it to a siedge, except they were able to hold out: and pretely 10
well had these *Munsterians* held out, for they kept the Emperour and the Duke of *Saxonie* play for the space of a yere; and longer would haue done, but that Dame Famine came amongst them; whereupon they were forst by Messengers to agree vpon a day of Fight, when according to 15
their Anabaptisticall errour they might al be new christened in their owne blood.

That day come, flourishing entred *Iohn Leiden* the Botcher into the field, with a scarffe made of lysts like a bow-case, a crosse on hys breast like a thred bottome, 20
a round twilted Taylors cushion buckled like a Tankard-bearers deuice to his shoulders for a target, the pyke whereof was a pack-needle, a tough prentises club for his spear, a great Bruers cow on his backe for a corslet, and on his head for a helmet a huge high shooe with the bottome turnd 25
vpwards, embossed as full of hob-nayles as euer it might sticke: his men were all base handicrafts, as coblers and curriers and tinkers, whereof some had barres of yron, some hatchets, some coole-staues, some dung-forkes, some spades, some mattockes, some wood-kniues, some addises for their 30
weapons: he that was best prouided had but a peece of a rustie browne bill brauely fringed with cop-webs to fight for him. Perchance here and there you might see a felow that had a canker-eaten scull on his head, which serued

1 a Victor] victor *A*. 3 *Run on in A*. 12 play] sound plaie *A*.
16 al be] be all *A*. 20 crosse on his threed button, *A*. *Corr. in Errata.*
26 vpward *A*. 32 cobwebbes *A*. 33 him: perchance *A*.

him and his ancestors for a chamber pot two hundred yeeres, and another that had bent a couple of yron dripping pans armour-wise, to fence his backe and his belly; another that had thrust a paire of drie olde bootes as a breast-plate
5 before his belly of his dublet, because he would not be dangerously hurt; an other that had twilted all his trusse full of counters, thinking, if the Enemie should take him, he would mistake them for gold, and so saue his life for his money. Verie deuout Asses they were, for all they were
10 so dunstically set forth, and such as thought they knew as much of Gods minde as richer men: why, inspiration was their ordinarie familiar, and buzd in their eares like a Bee in a boxe euerie hower what newes from heauen, hell, and the land of whipperginnie: displease them who durst, he should
15 haue his mittimus to damnation *ex tempore*; they would vaunt there was not a pease difference betwixt them and the Apostles; they were as poore as they, of as base trades as they, and no more inspired than they, and with God there is no re-|spect of persons; onely herein may seeme C 4
20 some little diuersitie to lurk, that *Peter* wore a sword, and they count it flat hel fire for anie man to weare a dagger; nay, so grounded and grauelled were they in this opinion, that now when they should come to Battell, theres neuer a one of them would bring a blade (no, not an onion blade)
25 about hym, to dye for it. It was not lawfull, said they, for anie man to draw the sword but the Magistrate; and in fidelitie, (which I had welnigh forgot,) *Iacke Leiden*, their Magistrate, had the Image or likenes of a peece of a rustie sword, like a lustie lad, by his side: now I remember mee,
30 it was but a foyle neither, and he wore it to shewe that hee should haue the foyle of his Enemies, which might haue been an oracle for his two-hand Interpretation. *Quid plura?* His Battell is pitcht: by pitcht, I doo not meane set in order, for that was farre from their order, onely as Sailers
35 doo pitch their apparell to make it storm proofe, so had most of them pitcht their patcht clothes to make them

5 dublot *B*. 16 twixt *A*. 23 neuer] nere *A*. 27 thoir *B*. 32 bin *A*.

impearceable: a neerer way than to be at the charges of armour by halfe. And in another sort he might be said to haue pitcht the Field, for he had pitcht or rather set vp his rest whether to flie if they were discomfited.

Peace, peace there in the belfrie, seruice begins: vpon 5 their knees before they ioine fals *Iohn Leiden* and his fraternitie verie deuoutly, they pray, they howle, they expostulate with God to grant them victorie, and vse such vnspeakable vehemence a man wold thinke them the onely wel bent men vnder heauen. Wherin let me dilate a litle 10 more grauely than the nature of this historie requires, or wilbe expected of so yong a practitioner in diuinity: that not those that intermissiuely cry, *Lord, open vnto vs, Lord, open vnto vs,* enter first into the kingdom; that not the greatest professors haue the greatest portiõ in grace; that 15 all is not gold that glisters. When Christ said, *the kingdome of heauen must suffer violence*, hee meant not the violence of long babling praiers, nor the violence of tedious inuectiue Sermons without wit, but the violence of faith, the violence of good works, the violence of patient suffering. The 20 ignorant snatch the kingdome of heauen to themselues with greedines, when we with all our learning sinke into hell.

Where did *Peter* and *Iohn*, in the third of the Acts, finde the lame cripple but in the gate of the temple called beautifull? in the beautifullest gates of our temple, in the fore-front 25 of professors, are many lame cripples, lame in life, lame in good workes, lame in euerie thing; yet will they alwaies sit at the gates of the temple; none be more forwarde then they to C 4v enter into matters of reformation, yet none more | behinde hand to enter into the true Temple of the Lord by the gates 30 of good life.

You may obiect that those which I speake against are

1–2 impearceable. A . . . halfe: and *A*. 3 rather] *om. A*. 4 whither *A*. 5 *Run on in A*. belfrie, seruice begins, vpon *Q*: belfrie: seruice begins, vpon *Gro*. 10 heauen, wherein *A*. 12 will be *A*. 14 kingdome of heauen, *A*. 17 *violcnee B*. 18 praiers to no purpose, *A*. 20–1 The ignorant arise and snatch *A*. 22 sinke downe into *A*. 23 *Run on in A*. 28 thã *A*. 32 *Run on in A*.

more diligent in reading the Scriptures, more carefull to resort vnto Sermons, more sober in their lookes, more modest in their attire than anie else. But I pray you let me answere you, Doth not Christ say that before the Latter
5 day the Sunne shall be turned into darknesse, and the Moone into bloud? whereof what may the meaning bee, but that the glorious Sunne of the Gospell shall be eclipsed with the dim clowd of dissimulation; that that which is the brightest Planet of saluation shall be a meanes of error and
10 darknes: and the Moone shall be turned into blood, those that shine fairest, make the simplest shewe, seeme most to fauour Religion, shal rent out the bowels of the church, be turned into blood, and all this shall come to passe before the notable day of the Lord, whereof this Age is the Eue?
15 Let me vse a more familiar example, since the heate of a great number outraged so excessiuely. Did not the Diuell lead Christ to the pinacle or highest place of the Temple to tempt him? If he led Christ, he will lead a whole Armie of hypocrites to the top or highest part of the
20 Temple, the highest step of Religion and Holines, to seduce them and subuert them. I say vnto you that which this our tempted Sauiour with manie other words besought his Disciples, *Saue your selues from this froward generation. Verily, verily, the seruant is not greater than his master:*
25 Verily, verily, sinfull men are not holier than holy Iesus, their maker. That holy Iesus again repeates this holy sentence, *Remember the words I said vnto you, the seruaunt is not holier nor greater than his Master;* as if he should say, Remember then, imprint in your memorie, your pride
30 and singularitie wyll make you forget them, the effects of them manie yeeres hence will come to passe. *Whosoeuer will seeke to saue his soule shall loose it:* whosoeuer seekes by headlong meanes to enter into Heauen and disanull Gods ordinance, shall, with the Gyaunts that thought to

2 lookes and modest *A.* 3 else: but *A.* 15 *Run on in A.* 16 number hath outraged *A.* 17 deuill *A.* place] part *A.* 18 led] lead *A.* 28 *nor*] or *A.* 29 then] *Qy. read* them?

scale heauen in contempt of *Iupiter*, be ouer-whelmed with Mount *Ossa* and *Peleon*, and dwell with the diuell in eternall desolation.

Though the High Priests Office was expired when *Paul* said vnto one of them, God rebuke thee, thou painted sepulcher, 5 yet when a stander by reprooued him, saying, Reuilest thou the High Priest? he repented and askt forgiuenes.

That which I suppose I doe not grant: the lawfulnes of the authoritie they oppose themselues against is suffici-D 1 ently proued: farre | be it my vnder-age arguments should 10 intrude themselues as a greene weake prop to support so high a Building: let it suffice, If you know Christ, you know his Father also; if you know Christianitie, you know the Fathers of the Church also. But a great number of you, with *Philip*, haue beene long with Christ, and haue not 15 knowen him; haue long professed your selues Christians, and haue not knowen his true Ministers: you follow the French and Scottish fashion and faction, and in all poynts are like the Switzers, *Qui quærunt cum qua Gente cadunt*, that seeke with what Nation they may first miscarrie. 20

In the dayes of *Nero* there was an odde Fellowe that had found out an exquisite way to make glasse as hammer-proofe as golde: shall I say that the like experiment he made vpon glasse, wee haue practised on the Gospell? I, confidently will I: Wee haue found out a sleight to 25 hammer it to anie Heresie whatsoeuer. But those furnaces of Falshood and hammer-heads of Heresie must bee dissolued and broken as his was, or els I feare mee the false glittering glasse of Innouation will bee better esteemed of, than the auncient golde of the Gospell. 30

The fault of faults is this, that your dead borne faith is

2 *Ossa*] Essa (*or* Cssa?) *A*. *Corr. in Errata*. 3 desolation] dissolution *A*. *Corr. in Errata*. 4 *Run on in A*. 8 *Run on in A*. grant, the *Q*: grant. The *Gro*. 10 proued, farre *A*: proued. Farre *Gro*. bee it my *A*: be it from my *B*. 12 building, let *Q*: building. Let *Gro*. 13–4 if . . . Church also] *om. A*. *Added in Errata*. 14 also, but *A*: also; but *Gro*. 17 haue] *om. A*. 19 *qua Gente*] *quocunque A*. *Corr. in Errata to qua gente*. 25 I, confidently will I, we *A*: I confidently will, I: Wee *B*. 26 whatsoeuer, but *A*. 31 *Run on in A*.

begotten by too-too infant Fathers. *Cato*, one of the wisest men in Romane Histories canonised, was not borne till his father was foure score yeres olde: none can be a perfect father of faith and beget men aright vnto God, but those 5 that are aged in experience, haue manie yeres imprinted in their milde conuersation, and haue, with *Zacheus*, solde all their possessions of vanities to enioy the sweet fellowship, not of the humane, but spirituall *Messias*.

Ministers and Pastors, sell away your sects and schismes 10 to the decrepite Churches in contention beyond sea; they haue been so long invred to warre, both about matters of Religion and Regiment, that now they haue no peace of minde but in troubling all other mens peace. Because the pouertie of their Prouinces will allow them no proportion- 15 able maintenance for higher callings of ecclesiasticall Magistrates, they wold reduce vs to the president of their rebellious persecuted beggerie: much like the sect of Philosophers called Cynikes, who whẽ they saw they were born to no lands or possessions, nor had any possible meanes to 20 support their estates, but they must liue despised and in misery, doo what they could, they plotted and consulted with themselues how to make their pouertie better esteemed of than rich | dominion and souereigntie. The vpshot of D 1v their plotting and consultation was this, that they would 25 liue to themselues, scorning the very breath or companie of all men; they profest (according to the rate of their lands) voluntarie pouertie, thin fare & lying hard, contemning and inueighing against all those as brute beasts whatsoeuer whome the world had giuen anie reputation for riches or 30 prosperitie. *Diogenes* was one of the first and formost of the ring-leaders of this rustie morositie, and he for all his nice dogged disposition and blunt deriding of worldly drosse and the grosse felicitie of fooles, was taken notwithstanding a little after verie fairely a coyning monie in his 35 cell: so fares it vpp and downe with our cinicall reformed

2 in] *om. A.* 9 *Run on in A.* 20 their desperate estates *A.*
21 miserie doe *Q.* 34 fairely coining *A.*

forraine Churches; they will disgest no grapes of great Bishoprikes forsooth, because they cannot tell how to come by them; they must shape their cotes, good men, according to their cloath, and doe as they may, not as they wold, yet they must giue vs leaue here in England that are their 5 honest neighbours, if wee haue more cloth than they, to make our garment some what larger.

What was the foundation or ground-worke of this dismall declining of Munster, but the banishing of their Bishop, their confiscating and casting lots for Church liuinges, as the 10 souldiers cast lottes for Christes garments, and, in short· tearmes, their making the house of God a den of theeues? The house of God a number of hungrie Church robbers in these dayes haue made a den of theeues. Theeues spend looselie what they haue gotten lightly; sacriledge is no 15 sure inheritance; *Dionisius* was nere the richer for robbing of *Iupiter* of his golden coate, hee was driuen in the end to play the Schoolemaster at Corinth. The name of Religion, bee it good or bad that is ruinated, God neuer suffers vnreuenged: Ile say of it as *Ouid* said of Eunuchs: 20

Qui primus pueris genitalia membra recidit,
Vulnera quæ fecit debuit ipse pati.

Who first depriude yong boies of their best part,
With selfe same wounds he gaue he ought to smart.

So would he that first gelt religion or Church-liuings had 25 bin first gelt himselfe or neuer liued; Cardinall *Wolsey* is the man I aim at, *Qui in suas pœnas ingeniosus erat,* D 2 first gaue others a light to his | own ouerthrow. How it prospered with him and his instrumentes that after wrought for themselues, Chronicles largely report, though not applie, 30 and some parcell of their punishment yet vnpaid I doe not doubt but will be required of their posteritie.

To goe forward with my storie of the ouerthrow of that vsurper, *Iohn Leiden*: he and all his armie, as I saide before,

1 they] *A*: thy *B*. 8 *Run on in A*. 15 got *A*. 16–7 robbing *Iupiter A*. 28 owne *c.w.* ouethrow *B*. 29 his] *A*: their *B*. 34 *Leiden*, he *A*: *Leiden* he *B*.

falling prostrate on their faces and feruently giuen ouer to praier, determined neuer to cease, or leaue soliciting of God, till he had shewed them from heauen some manifest miracle of successe.

5 Note that it was a generall receiued tradition both with *Iohn Leiden* and all the crue of Cnipperdolings and Muncers, if God at any time at their vehement outcries and clamors did not condiscend to their requests, to raile on him and curse him to his face, to dispute with him and argue him of 10 iniustice for not beeing so good as his word with them, and to vrge his manie promises in the Scripture against him: so that they did not serue God simplie, but that he should serue their turnes; and after that tenure are many content to serue as bondmen to saue the danger of hanging: but 15 hee that serues God aright, whose vpright conscience hath for his mot, *Amor est mihi causa sequendi*, I serue because I loue, he saies, *Ego te potius, Domine, quam tua dona sequar*, Ile rather follow thee, O Lord, for thine own sake, than for anie couetous respect of that thou canst doe for mee.

20 Christ would haue no followers but such as forsooke all and follow him, such as forsake all their owne desires, such as abandon all expectations of reward in this world, such as neglected and contemned their liues, their wiues and children, in comparison of him, and were content to take vp 25 their crosse and follow him.

These Anabaptists had not yet forsooke all and followed Christ, they had not forsooke their owne desires of reuenge and innouation, they had not abandoned their expectation of the spoile of their enimies, they regarded their liues, 30 they lookt after their wiues and children, they tooke not vp their Crosses of humilitie and followed him, but would crosse him, vpbraid him, and set him at nought, if he assured not by some signe their prayers and supplications. *Deteriora sequuntur*, they followed God as daring him. 35 God heard their praiers, *Quod petitur pœna est*; It was their

5 *Run on in A.* 6 *Iohn*] *I. A.* 19–20 me, Christ (*run on*) *A.*
26 *Run on in A.* 31 crosse *A.* 34 *sequntur B.*

speedie punishment that they prayde for. Lo, according to the summe of their impudent supplications, a signe in the heauens appeard, the glorious signe of the rainebowe, which agreed iust with the signe of their ensigne that was a rainbow likewise. 5

D 2ᵛ Wherevpon, assuring themselues of victorie, (*Miseri quod volunt, facile credunt*; that which wretches would haue they easely beleeue,) with showtes and clamors they presently ranne headlong on theyr well deserued confusion.

Pittifull and lamentable was their vnpittied and well 10 perfourmed slaughter. To see euen a Beare (which is the most cruellest of all beasts) too-too bloudily ouer-matcht, and deformedly rent in peeces by an vnconscionable number of curres, it would mooue compassion against kinde, and make those that (beholding him at the stake 15 yet vncoapt with) wisht him a sutable death to his vgly shape, now to recall their hard-harted wishes, and moane him suffering as a milde beast, in comparison of the fowle mouthd Mastiues, his butchers: euen such compassion did those ouer-matcht vngracious *Munsterians* obtaine of manie 20 indifferent eyes, who now thought them (suffering) to bee sheepe brought innocent to the shambles, when as before they deemed them as a ned t wolues vp in armes against the shepheards. of him es of t

The Emperialls themsow him gaue h their Executioners 25 (like a father that weepe had ngion oeates his childe, yet still weepes and stil beatorsoo iued hout much ruth and sorrow prosecuted that la ad nas p massacre; yet drums and trumpets sounding noth enin ow tearne reuenge in their eares, made them so eager twiuame handes had no leasure 30 to aske counsell of their efiliti rete eyes; their swordes, theyr pikes, their bills, their 1,0 ees, their caleeuers slew, empierced, knockt downe, shot through, and ouerthrew as manie men euerie minute of the battell as there falls eares

6 *Run on in A.* 7 *credunt*) that *A*: *eredunt*) that *B*. 8 beleeue. With *Q*. 10 *Run on in A*. 21–2 bee as sheepe *A*. 25 *Run on in A*. 33 thorough *A*.

of corne before the sythe at one blow: yet all their weapons so slaying, empiercing, knocking downe, shooting through, ouer-throwing, dissoule-ioyned not halfe so manie as the hailing thunder of the great Ordinance: so ordinarie 5 at euerie foot-step was the imbrument of yron in bloud, that one could hardly discern heads from bullets, or clottred haire from mangled flesh hung with goare.

This tale must at one time or other giue vp the ghost, and as good now as stay longer; I would gladly rid my 10 handes of it cleanly, if I could tell how, for what with talking of coblers, tinkers, roape-makers, botchers, and durt-daubers, the mark is clean out of my Muses mouth, & I am as it were more than duncified twixt diuinity and poetrie. What is there more as touching this tragedie that 15 you would be resolued of? say quickly, for now is my pen on foote againe. How *Iohn Leyden* dyed, is that it? He dyde like a dogge, he was hangd & | the halter paid for. D 3 For his companions, doe they trouble you? I can tell you they troubled some men before, for they were all kild, 20 & none escapt, no, not so much as one to tell the tale of the rainebow. Heare what it is to be Anabaptists, to be Puritans, to be villaines; you may bee counted illuminate botchers for a while, but your end will bee, Good people, pray for vs.

25 With the tragicall catastrophe of this Munsterian conflict did I cashier the new vocation of my caualiership. There was no more honorable wars in christendome then towards; wherefore, after I had learned to be halfe an houre in bidding a man *boniure* in Germane sunonimas, I trauelled 30 along the countrie towards England as fast as I could.

What with wagons and bare tentoes hauing attained to Middleborough, (good Lord, see the changing chances of vs knights arrant infants) I met with the right honorable Lord *Henrie Howard*, Earle of Surrey, my late master. Iesu,

3 *Grosart suggests* dissolueioyned. 4 of their great *A*. 11 coblers, & tinkers, & roapemakers, and botchers *A*. 12 cleane gone out *A*. 15–6 for now my pen is got vpon his feet again: how *A*. 16 *Iohn*] *I*. *A*. 24 vs] me *A*. 31 *Run on in A*. 33 knight *A*. 34 master, Iesu *Q*.

I was perswaded I should not bee more glad to see heauen than I was to see him. O, it was a right noble Lord, liberalitie it selfe (if in this yron age there were any such creature as liberalitie left on the earth), a Prince in content because a Poet without peere. 5

Destinie neuer defames hir selfe but when shee lets an excellent Poet die: if there bee anie sparke of Adams Paradized perfection yet emberd vp in the breastes of mortall men, certainelie God hath bestowed that his perfectest image on Poets. None come so neere to God 10 in wit, none more contemne the world, *vatis auarus non temere est animus*, sayth *Horace*, *versus amat, hoc studet vnum*; Seldom haue you seene anie Poet possessed with auarice, only verses he loues, nothing else he delights in: and as they contemne the world, so contrarilie of the 15 mechanicall world are none more contemned. Despised they are of the worlde, because they are not of the world: their thoughts are exalted aboue the worlde of ignorance and all earthly conceits.

As sweet Angelicall queristers they are continually 20 conuersant in the heauen of Arts: heauen it selfe is but the highest height of knowledge; he that knowes himselfe & all things else, knowes the meanes to be happie: happie, thrice happie, are they whom God hath doubled his spirite vppon, and giuen a double soule vnto to be Poets. 25

My Heroicall Master exceeded in this supernaturall kinde of wit; he entertained no grosse earthly spirite of D 3v auarice, nor weake wo-|manly spirite of pusillanimitie and feare that are fained to bee of the water, but admirable, airie, and firie spirites, full of freedome, magnanimitie, 30 and bountihood. Let me not speake anie more of his accomplishments, for feare I spend all my spirits in praising him, and leaue my selfe no vigor of wit or effects of a soule to goe forward with my historie.

Hauing thus met him I so much adored, no interpleading 35

2 him, O *Q*. 6 *Run on in A*. 8 imberd *B*. 13 *vnum*, Seldom *Q*.
26 *Run on in A*. 35 *Run on in A*.

was there of opposite occasions, but backe I must returne and beare halfe stakes with him in the lotterie of trauell. I was not altogether vnwilling to walke along with such a good purse-bearer, yet musing what changeable humor 5 had so soddainely seduced him from his natiue soyle to seeke out needlesse perils in those parts beyond sea, one night verie boldly I demaunded of him the reason that mooued him thereto.

Ah, quoth he, my little Page, full little canst thou 10 perceiue howe farre Metamorphozed I am from my selfe, since I last saw thee. There is a little God called Loue, that will not bee worshipt of anie leaden braines; one that proclaimes himselfe sole King and Emperour of pearcing eyes, and cheefe Soueraigne of soft hearts; hee it is that, 15 exercising his Empire in my eyes, hath exorsized and cleane coniured me from my content.

Thou knowst statelie *Geraldine*, too stately I feare for mee to doe homage to her statue or shrine; she it is that is come out of Italie to bewitch all the wise men of 20 England; vppon Queene *Katherine Dowager* she waites, that hath a dowrie of beautie sufficient to make hir wooed of the greatest Kinges in Christendome. Her high exalted sunne beames haue set the Phenix neast of my breast on fire, and I my selfe haue brought Arabian spiceries of sweet 25 passions and praises to furnish out the funerall flame of my follie. Those who were condemned to be smothered to death by sincking downe into the softe bottome of an high built bedde of Roses, neuer dide so sweet a death as I shoulde die, if hir Rose coloured disdaine were my deathes-man.

30 Oh thrice Emperiall Hampton Court, *Cupids* inchaunted Castle, the place where I first sawe the perfecte omnipotence of the Almightie expressed in mortalitie, tis thou alone that, tithing all other men solace in thy pleasant scituation, affoordest mee nothinge but an excellent begotten sorrow 35 out of the cheefe treasurie of all thy recreations. |

3 a long *B*. 4 puxse-bearer *B*. 6 those] these *A*. 17 *Run on in A*.
25 funetall *B*. 30 *Run on in A*.

D 4 Deare *Wilton*, vnderstand that there it was where I first set eie on my more than celestiall *Geraldine*. Seeing her, I admired her; all the whole receptacle of my sight was vnhabited with hir rare worth. Long sute and vncessant protestations got me the grace to be entertained. Did 5 neuer vnlouing seruant so prentiselike obey his neuer pleased Mistris as I did her. My life, my wealth, my friendes had all their destinie depending on hir command.

Vppon a time I was determined to trauell; the fame of Italy, and an especiall affection I had vnto Poetrie, my 10 second Mistris, for which Italy was so famous, had wholy rauisht me vnto it. There was no dehortment from it, but needs thether I would: wherefore, comming to my Mistris as she was then walking with other Ladies of estate in paradice at Hampton Court, I most humbly besought her 15 of fauour, that she would giue mee so much gratious leaue to absent my selfe from her seruice, as to trauell a yeare or two into Italy. She verie discreetly answered me that if my loue were so hot as I had often auouched, I did verie well to applie the plaister of absence vnto it, for absence, 20 as they say, causeth forgetfulnesse: yet neuerthelesse since it is Italy, my natiue countrie, you are so desirous to see, I am the more willing to make my will yours. *I, pete Italiam*, goe and seeke Italie, with *Aenæas*; but bee more true than *Aenæas*; I hope that kinde wit-cherishing climate 25 will worke no change in so wittie a breast. No Countrie of mine shall it be more, if it conspire with thee in any new loue against mee. One charge I will giue thee, and let it bee rather a request than a charge: When thou commest to Florence (the faire Cittie from whence I fetcht the pride 30 of my birth), by an open challenge defende my beautie against all commers.

Thou hast that honourable carryage in Armes that it shall bee no discredite for me to bequeath all the glorie of my beautie to thy well gouerned Arme. Faine would I bee 35 knowne where I was borne, faine would I haue thee knowen

9 *Run on in A.* trauell, the *Q*

where fame sits in her chiefest Theater. Farewell, forget me not; continued deserts wil eternize me vnto thee, thy wishes shall bee expired when thy trauell shall bee once ended.

Here did teares step out before words, and intercepted
5 the course of my kinde conceiued speech, euen as winde is allayed with raine: with heart scalding sighes I confirmed her parting request, and vowed my selfe hers while liuing heate allowed mee to bee mine owne; | *Hinc illæ lachrimæ*, D 4v heere hence proceedeth the whole cause of my peregrination.

10 Not a little was I delighted with this vnexpected loue storie, especially from a mouth out of which was nought wont to march but sterne precepts of grauetie & modestie. I sweare vnto you I thought his companie the better by a thousand crownes, because hee had discarded those nice
15 tearmes of chastitie and continencie. Now I beseech God loue me so well as I loue a plaine dealing man; earth is earth, flesh is flesh, earth wil to earth, and flesh vnto flesh; fraile earth, fraile flesh, who can keepe you from the worke of your creation?

20 Dismissing this fruitles annotation *pro et contra*; towards Venice we progrest, and tooke Roterdam in our waie, that was cleane out of our waie: there we met with aged learnings chiefe ornament, that abundant and superingenious clarke, *Erasmus*, as also with merrie Sir *Thomas Moore*, our
25 Countriman, who was come purposelie ouer a little before vs, to visite the said graue father *Erasmus*: what talke, what conference wee had then, it were here superfluous to rehearse, but this I can assure you, *Erasmus* in all his speeches seemed so much to mislike the indiscretion of Princes in
30 preferring of parasites and fooles, that he decreed with himselfe to swim with the stream, and write a booke forthwith in commendation of follie. Quick witted Sir *Thomas Moore* traueld in a cleane contrarie prouince, for he seeing most common-wealths corrupted by ill custome, & that
35 principalities were nothing but great piracies, which, gotten by violence and murther, were maintained by priuate

2 thy full wishes *A*. 20 *contra*, towards *Q*. 30 parasite *B*. 36 by] vy *B*.

vndermining and bloudshed, that in the cheefest flourishing kingdomes there was no equall or well deuided weale one with an other, but a manifest conspiracie of rich men against poore men, procuring their owne vnlawfull commodities vnder the name and interest of the common-wealth: hee 5 concluded with himselfe to lay downe a perfect plot of a common-wealth or gouernment, which he would intitle his *Vtopia.*

So left we them to prosecute their discontented studies, and made our next iourney to Wittenberg. 10

At the verie pointe of our enterance into Wittenberg, we were spectators of a verie solemne scholasticall entertainment of the Duke of Saxonie thether. Whome, because hee was the chiefe Patrone of their Vniuersitie, and had tooke *Luthers* parte in banishing the Masse and all like papal 15 iurisdiction out of their towne, they croucht vnto extreamely. | E 1 The chiefe ceremonies of their intertainment were these: first, the heads of their vniuersitie (they were great heads of certaintie) met him in their hooded hypocrisie and doctorly accoustrements, *secundum formam statuti*; where by the 20 orator of the vniuersitie, whose pickerdeuant was verie plentifully besprinkled with rose water, a very learned or rather ruthfull oration was deliuered (for it raind all the while) signifieng thus much, that it was all by patch & by peecemeale stolne out of *Tully*, and he must pardon them, 25 though in emptying their phrase bookes, the world emptied his intrailes, for they dyd it not in any ostentation of wit (which God knowes they had not) but to shew the extraordinarie good will they bare the Duke (to haue him stand in the raine till he was through wet): a thousand *quemadmodums* and *quapropters* he came ouer him with; euery 30 sentence he concluded with *Esse posse videatur*: through all the nine worthies he ran with praising and comparing him; *Nestors* yeeres he assured him off vnder the broade

9 *Run on in A.* 17 The . . .] *Run on in A. New par. but not set in. B.* 20 *statui B.* by] *A*: *om. B.* 26 world] ayre *A.* 28 God knowes] *om. A.* 30 thorough *A.* wet) a *Q.*

seale of their supplications, and with that crowe troden verse in Virgil, *Dum iuga montis aper*, hee packt vp his pipes and cride *dixi*.

That pageant ouerpast, there rusht vpon him a miserable 5 rablement of iunior graduats, that all cride vppon him mightily in their gibrige, lyke a companie of beggers, God saue your grace, God saue your grace, Iesus preserue your Highnesse, though it be but for an houre.

Some three halfe penyworth of Latine here also had he 10 throwen at his face, but it was choise stuffe, I can tell you, as there is a choise euen amongest ragges gathered vp from the dunghill. At the townes end met him the burgers and dunsticall incorporationers of *Wittenberg* in their distinguished liueries, their distinguished liuerie faces, I meane, 15 for they were most of them hot liuered dronkards, and had all the coate colours of sanguine, purple, crimson, copper, carnation, that were to be had, in their countenances. Filthie knaues, no cost had they bestowed on the towne for his welcome, sauing new painted their houghs and bousing 20 houses, which commonly are fairer than their churches, and ouer their gates set the towne armes carousing a whole health to the Dukes armes, which sounded gulping after this sorte, *Vanhotten, slotten, irk bloshen glotten gelderslike*: what euer the wordes were, the sense was this, Good drinke 25 is a medicine for all diseases.

A bursten belly inkhorne orator called *Vanderhulke*, they pickt out to present him with an oration, one that had a sulpherous big | swolne large face, like a Saracen, eyes E 1v lyke two kentish oysters, a mouth that opened as wide 30 euery time he spake, as one of those old knit trap doores, a beard as though it had ben made of a birds neast pluckt in peeces, which consisteth of strawe, haire, and durt mixt together. He was apparelled in blacke leather new licourd, & a short gowne without anie gathering in the backe, faced

2 *montes B.* 5 crid out vpon *A.* 9 *New par. A. Run on in B.* 20 are built fayrer *A.* 21–2 carousing . . . armes] *om. A.* 23 *Vanhotten . . . gelderslike*] *In B these words are in Black Letter of a larger face than the rest. Roman in A.* 26 *Vanderhulke*] *A*: *Vanderkulke B.* 31 bin *A.*

before and behinde with a boistrous beare skin, and a red night-cap on his head. To this purport and effect was this broccing duble beere oration.

Right noble Duke (*ideo nobilis quasi no bilis*, for you haue no bile or colar in you), know that our present in-corporation of Wittenberg, by me the tongue man of their thankfulnes, a townesman by birth, a free Germane by nature, an oratour by arte, and a scriuener by education, in all obedience & chastity, most bountifully bid you welcome to Witenberg: welcome, sayd I? O orificiall rethorike, wipe thy euerlasting mouth, and affoord me a more Indian metaphor than that, for the braue princely bloud of a Saxon. Oratorie, vncaske the bard hutch of thy complements, and with the triumphantest troupe in thy treasurie doe trewage vnto him. What impotent speech with his eight partes may not specifie, this vnestimable gift, holding his peace, shall as it were (with teares I speak it) do wherby as it may seeme or appeare to manifest or declare, and yet it is, and yet it is not, and yet it may be a diminitiue oblation meritorious to your high pusillanimitie and indignitie. Why should I goe gadding and fisgigging after firking flantado amfibologies? wit is wit, and good will is good will. With all the wit I haue, I here, according to the premises, offer vp vnto you the cities generall good will, which is a gilded Can, in manner and forme folowing, for you and the heirs of your bodie lawfully begotten to drinke healths in. The scholasticall squitter bookes clout you vp cannopies and foot-clothes of verses. We that are good fellowes, and liue as merry as cup and can, will not verse vpon you as they doe, but must do as we can, and entertaine you if it bee but with a plaine emptie Canne. He hath learning inough that hath learnde to drinke to his first man.

Gentle Duke, without paradox bee it spoken, thy horses at our owne proper costes and charges shall kneed vp to the knees all the while thou art heere in spruce beere and

4 *New par. A. Run on in B.* 5)] *after bilis Q. B has* (. 6 tougne *B.* 9 yon *B.* 18 appeare, to *Q.* 18–9 declare & *A*: declare: & *Gro.* 23 will. *B.*

lubecke licour. Not a dogge thou bringest with thee but shall bee banketted with rhenish wine and sturgion. On our shoulders we weare no lambe skinne or mi-|niuer like E 2 these academikes, yet wee can drinke to the confusion of 5 thy enemies. Good lambs wooll haue we for their lambe skins, and for their miniuer, large minerals in our coffers. Mechanicall men they call vs, and not amisse, for most of vs being *Mæchi*, that is, cuckoldes and whooremasters, fetch our antiquitie from the temple of *Mæcha*, where Ma-10 homet was hung vp. Three partes of the worlde, America, Affrike, and Asia, are of this our mechanike religion. *Nero*, when he crid, *O quantus artifex perco*, profest himselfe of our freedome, insomuch as *Artifex* is a citizen or craftes man, as well as *Carnifex* a scholler or hangman. Passe on 15 by leaue into the precincts of our abhomination. Bonie Duke, frolike in our boure, and perswade thy selfe that euen as garlike hath three properties, to make a man winke, drinke, and stinke, so we wil winke on thy imperfections, drinke to thy fauorites, and al thy foes shall 20 stinke before vs. So be it. Farewell.

The Duke laught not a little at this ridiculous oration, but that verie night as great an ironicall occasion was ministred, for he was bidden to one of the chiefe schooles to a Comedie handled by scollers. *Acolastus*, the prodigal 25 child, was the name of it, which was so filthily acted, so leathernly set forth, as would haue moued laughter in *Heraclitus*. One, as if he had ben playning a clay floore, stampingly trode the stage so harde with his feete that I thought verily he had resolued to do the Carpenter that 30 set it vp some vtter shame. Another flong his armes lyke cudgels at a peare tree, insomuch as it was mightily dreaded that he wold strike the candles that hung aboue their heades out of their sockettes, and leaue them all darke. Another did nothing but winke and make faces. There 35 was a parasite, and he with clapping his handes and

4-5 of all thy *A*. 10 was] is *A*. 13 freedome. Insomuch *A* : freedome. Iusomuch *B*.

thripping his fingers seemed to dance an antike to and fro. The onely thing they did well was the prodigall childs hunger, most of their schollers being hungerly kept; & surely you would haue sayd they had bin brought vp in hogs academie to learne to eate acornes, if you had seene 5 how sedulously they fell to them. Not a ieast had they to keepe their auditors from sleeping but of swill and draffe; yes, nowe and then the seruant put his hand into the dish before his master, & almost chokt himselfe, eating slouenly and rauenously to cause sport. 10

The next daie they had solempne disputations, where *Luther* and *Carolostadius* scolded leuell coyle. A masse of wordes I wote well they heapte vp agaynst the masse and E 2v the Pope, but | farther particulars of their disputations I remēber not. I thought verily they woulde haue worried 15 one another with wordes, they were so earnest and vehement. *Luther* had the louder voyce, *Carolostadius* went beyond him in beating and bounsing with his fists. *Quæ supra nos, nihil ad nos:* they vttered nothing to make a man laugh, therefore I will leaue them. Mary, their out- 20 warde iestures would now and then afford a man a morsel of mirth: of those two I meane not so much as of all the other traine of opponents & respondents. One peckt with his fore-finger at euerie halfe sillable hee brought forth, and nodded with his nose like an olde singing man teaching a 25 yong querister to keepe time. Another woulde be sure to wipe his mouth with his handkercher at ẏ ende of euery ful point, and euer when he thought he had cast a figure so curiously as he diued ouer head and eares into his auditors admiration, hee woulde take occasion to stroke vp his 30 haire, and twine vp his mustachios twice or thrice ouer, while they might haue leasure to applaud him. A third wauerd & wagled his head, like a proud horse playing with his bridle, or as I haue seene some fantasticall swimmer, at

4 ben *A*. 7 sleepe *A*. 18 fists, *Quæ Q*. 19 *nos*. They *Q*. 21 now and then would affoorde *A*. 23 peckte like a crane with *A*. 28 point. And *A*.

euerie stroke, train his chin side-long ouer his left shoulder. A fourth swet and foamed at the mouth for verie anger his aduersarie had denied that part of the sillogisme which he was not prepared to answere. A fifth spread his armes 5 like an vsher that goes before to make rome, and thript with his finger and his thumbe when he thought he had tickled it with a conclusion. A sixt hung downe his countenaunce like a sheepe, and stutted and slauered very pittifully when his inuention was stept aside out of the way. 10 A seuenth gaspt for winde, & groned in his pronunciation as if hee were hard bound with some bad argument. Grosse plodders they were all, that had some learning and reading, but no wit to make vse of it. They imagined the Duke tooke the greatest pleasure and contentment vnder heauen 15 to heare them speake Latine, and as long as they talkt nothing but *Tully* he was bound to attend them. A most vaine thing it is in many vniuersities at this daie, that they count him excellent eloquent, who stealeth not whole phrases but whole pages out of *Tully*. If of a number of 20 shreds of his sentences he can shape an oration, from all the world he carries it awaie, although in truth it be no more than a fooles coat of many colours. No inuention or matter haue they of theyr owne, but tack vp a stile of his stale galymafries. The leaden headed Germanes first 25 began this, and wee Englishmen haue sur-|fetted of their E 3 absurd imitation. I pitie *Nizolius* that had nothing to do but picke thrids ends out of an olde ouerworne garment.

This is but by the waie, we must looke back to our disputants. One amongest the rest thinking to bee more 30 conceited than his fellowes, seeing the Duke haue a dog he loued well, which sate by him on the tarras, conuerted al his oration to him, and not a haire of his tayle but he kembd out with comparisons: so to haue courted him if he were a bitch had bin verie suspitious. Another commented

3 the] his *A*. 5 roome *A*. 10 gaspt and gapt for *A*. 19 phrases but whole pages] *A* : pages, but whole phrases *B*. 33 comparisons. So *A*. 34 hitch *A*.

and descanted on the Dukes staffe, new tipping it with many queint epithites. Some cast his natiuitie, and promised him hee shoulde not die vntill the day of iudgement. Omitting further superfluityes of this stampe, in this generall assembly we found intermixed that abundant 5 scholler *Cornelius Agrippa*. At that time he bare the fame to be the greatest coniurer in christendome. *Scoto*, that dyd the iugling tricks before the Queene, neuer came neere him one quarter in magicke reputation. The Doctors of *Wittenberg*, doting on the rumor that went of him, 10 desired him before the Duke and them to doe some thing extraordinarie memorable.

One requested to see pleasant *Plautus*, and that hee would shewe them in what habit he went, and with what countenaunce he lookt when he ground corne in the mil. Another 15 had halfe a months mind to *Ouid* and his hooke nose. *Erasmus*, who was not wanting in that honorable meeting, requested to see *Tully* in that same grace and maiestie he pleaded his oration *pro Roscio Amerino*, affirming that til in person he beheld his importunitie of pleading, hee woulde 20 in no wise bee perswaded that anie man coulde carrie awaye a manifest case with rethorike so strangely. To *Erasmus* petition he easily condescended, & willing the doctors at such an houre to hold their conuocation, and euery one to keepe him in his place without mouing, at the time prefixed 25 in entered *Tullie*, ascended his pleading place, and declaimed verbatim the forenamed oration, but with such astonishing amazement, with such feruent exaltation of spirit, with such soule-stirring iestures, that all his auditours were readie to install his guiltie client for a God. 30

Great was the concourse of glorie *Agrippa* drewe to him wyth this one feate. And in deede hee was so cloyed with men which came to beholde him, that he was fayne, sooner than he would, to returne to the Emperours court

3 vntill] till *A*. 8 trickes here before *A*. 15 lookt, when *A*. 16 moneths *A*. 17 in] to *A*. 19 *Amerino*. Affirming *Q*. 21 in no wise] not *A*. that] *om*. *A*. 25 mouing: at *Q*.

from whence he came, and leaue *Wittenberg* before he woulde. With him we trauelled along, hauing pur-|chast E 3v his acquaintance a litle before. By the waie as we went, my master and I agreed to change names. It was con-
5 cluded betwixte vs, that I should be the Earle of Surrie, and he my man, onely because in his owne person, which hee woulde not haue reproched, hee meant to take more liberty of behauior: as for my cariage he knew hee was to tune it at a key, either high or low, as he list.

10 To the Emperours court wee came, where our entertainment was euery way plentiful; carouses we had in whole galons in sted of quart pots. Not a health was giuen vs but contained well neere a hogshead. The customes of the countrie we were eager to bee instructed in, but nothing
15 wee coulde learne but this, that euer at the Emperours coronation there is an oxe roasted with a stag in the belly, and that stag in his belly hath a kid, and that kid is stufte full of birds. Some courtiers, to wearie out time, would tell vs further tales of *Cornelius Agrippa*, and howe when
20 sir *Thomas Moore*, our countryman, was there, he shewed him the whole destructiõ of Troy in a dreame. How the Lord *Cromwell* being the kings Embassador there, in like case, in a perspectiue glasse hee set before his eyes king *Henrie* the eight with all his Lordes on hunting in his
25 forrest at Windsore, and when he came into his studie and was verie vrgent to be partaker of some rare experiment, that he might reporte when he came into England, he wild him amongest two thousande great bookes to take downe which hee list, and begin to reade one line in anie place,
30 and without booke he woulde rehearse twentie leaues following. *Cromwel* did so, and in many bookes tride him, when in euery thing he exceeded his promise and conquered his expectation. To *Charles* the fift, then Emperour, they reported how he shewed the nine worthies,
35 *Dauid*, *Salomon*, *Gedeon*, and the rest, in that similitude

8 behauiour, As *A*: behauiour. As *Gro.*, *Gosse.* 9 tuene *B.* low, or as *A.* 24 on] *om. A.* 28 amongst *A.*

and likenes that they liued vpon earth. My master and I, hauing by the high waie side gotten some reasonable familiaritie with him, vpon this accesse of myracles imputed to him, resolued to request him somthing in our owne behalfes. I, because I was his suborned Lcrde and master, 5 desired him to see the liuely image of *Geraldine*, his loue, in the glasse, and what at that instant she did and with whome she was talking. He shewed her vs without anie more adoe, sicke weeping on her bed, and resolued all into deuout religion for the absence of her Lord. At the sight 10 thereof he could in no wise refrain, though he had tooke· vpon him the condition of a seruant, but he must forthwith frame this extemporal dity. |

E 4 *ALL soule, no earthly flesh, why dost thou fade?*
All good, no worthlesse drosse, why lookst thou pale? 15
Sicknesse, how darst thou one so faire inuade?
Too base infirmitie to worke hir bale.
Heauen be distemperd since she grieued pines,
Neuer be drie these my sad plaintiue lines.

Pearch thou, my spirit, on hir siluer breasts, 20
And with their paine-redoubled musike-beatings,
Let them tosse thee to world where all toile rests,
Where blisse is subiect to no feares defeatings:
Her praise I tune whose tongue doth tune the sphears,
And gets new muses in hir hearers eares. 25

Starres fall to fetch fresh light from hir rich eyes,
Her bright brow driues the Sunne to cloudes beneath,
Hir haires reflex with red strakes paints the skies,
Sweet morne and euening deaw flowes from her breath:
Phœbe rules tides, she my teares tides forth drawes, 30
In her sicke bed loue sits and maketh lawes.

Hir daintie lims tinsill hir silke soft sheets,
Hir rose-crownd cheekes eclipse my dazeled sight;

6 *Gdraldine B.* 8 with out *B.* anie] *om. A.* 21 *paine redoubled musike beatings Q.* 27 *heneath B.* 31 *lawee B.*

O glasse, with too much ioy my thoughts thou greets,
And yet thou shewest me day but by twy-light.
Ile kisse thee for the kindnes I haue felt,
Hir lips one kisse would vnto Nectar melt.

5 Though the Emperours court and the extraordinarie edyfiing companie of *Cornelius Agrippa* might haue bin argumentes of waight to haue arested vs a little longer there, yet Italy still stuck as a great moate in my masters eie; he thought he had trauelled no farther than Wales till 10 he had tooke suruey of that countrie which was such a curious molder of wits.

To cut off blind ambages by the high way side, we made a long | stride and got to Venice in short time; where hauing E 4v scarce lookt about vs, a precious supernaturall pandor, 15 apparelled in all points like a gentleman & hauing halfe a dosen seueral languages in his purse, entertained vs in our owne tongue very paraphrastically and eloquently, & maugre all other pretended acquaintance, would haue vs in a violent kinde of curtesie to be the guestes of his appointment. His 20 name was *Petro de campo Frego*, a notable practitioner in the pollicie of baudrie. The place whether he brought vs was a pernicious curtizãs house named *Tabitha* the Temptresses, a wench that could set as ciuill a face on it as chastities first martyr *Lucrecia*. What will you conceit 25 to be in any saints house that was there to seeke? Bookes, pictures, beades, crucifixes, why, there was a haberdashers shop of thẽ in euerie chãber. I warrant you should not see one set of her neckercher peruerted or turned awrie, not a piece of a haire displast. On her beds there was not 30 a wrinkle of any wallowing to be found, her pillows bare out as smooth as a groning wiues belly, & yet she was a Turke and an infidel, & had more dooings then all her neighbours besides. Vs for our money they vsed like Emperours. I was master as you heard before, & my 35 master, the Earle, was but as my chief man whome I made

6 beene *A*. 28 of] *A*: off *B*. 32 than *A*.

my companion. So it happened (as iniquitie will out at one time or other) that she, perceiuing my expence had no more vents then it should haue, fel in with my supposed seruant, my man, and gaue him half a promise of mariage, if he would help to make me away, that shee and he might 5 enioy the iewels and wealth that I had.

The indifficultie of the condition thus she explaind vnto him: her house stood vppon vaultes, which in two hundred yeeres togither were neuer searcht; who came into her house none tooke notice of; his fellow seruants that knew 10 of his masters abode there shoulde be all dispatcht by him, as from his master, into sundry parts of the citie about busines, and when they returned, aunswere should be made that he lay not their anye more, but had remoued to Padua since their departure, & thither they must follow him. 15 Now (quoth she), if you be disposed to make him away in their absence, you shall haue my house at commaund. Stab, poyson, or shoote him through with a pistol, all is one, into the vault he shalbe throwen when the deed is doone. On my bare honestie it was a craftie queane, for 20 shee had enacted with her self, if he had bin my legitimate seruant, as he was one that serued and supplied my ne- F 1 cessities, when he had | murthered me, to haue accused him of the murther, and made all that I had hirs (as I carried all my masters wealth, monie, iewels, rings, or bils 25 of exchange, continually about me). He verie subtilly consented to her stratageme at the first motion; kill me hee would, that heauens could not withstand, and a pistoll was the predestinate engine which must deliuer the parting blow. God wot I was a rawe yong squier, and my master 30 dealt iudasly with me, for he tolde me but euerie thing that she and he agreed of. Wherefore I coulde not possibly preuent it, but as a man would saie auoide it. The execu- tion day aspired to his vtmost deuolution, into my chamber came my honorable attendant with his pistoll charged by 35 his side, very suspitiouslie and sullenly: ladie *Tabitha* and

3 than *A*. 8 stood] *A*: steed *B*. 19 shall be *A*.

Petro de campo Frego, her pandor, folowed him at the hard heeles.

At their enterance I saluted them all very familiarly and merily, & began to impart vnto thẽ what disquiet dreams
5 had disturbed mee the last night. I dreamt, quoth I, that my man *Brunquell* here (for no better name got he of me) came into my chamber with a pistol charged vnder his arme to kill me, and that he was suborned by you, mistres *Tabitha,* and my verie good friende *Petro de campo Frego*;
10 God send it turne to good, for it hath affrighted mee aboue measure. As they were readie to enter into a coulourable common place of the deceitfull friuolousnes of dreames, my trustie seruant *Brunquel* stoode quiuering and quaking euerye ioynt of him, &, as it was before compacted betweene
15 vs, let his pistoll droppe from him on the sodaine; wherewith I started out of my bed, and drew my rapier, and cryde, Murther, murther, which made good wife *Tabitha* redie to bepis her.

My seruaunt, or my master, which you will, I tooke
20 roughlie by the coller, and threatned to run him through incontinent if he confest not the truth. He, as it were striken with remorse of conscience, (God be with him, for he could counterfeit most daintily,) downe on his knees, askt me forgiuenesse, and impeached *Tabitha* and *Petro de*
25 *campo Frego* as guiltie of subornation. I very mildly and grauely gaue him audience; raile on them I dyd not after his tale was ended, but sayde I would trie what the lawe could doe. Conspiracy by the custome of their countrie was a capitall offence, and what custome or iustice might
30 affoorde they should bee all sure to feele. I could, quoth I, acquite my selfe otherwise, but it is not for a straunger to be his owne caruer in reuenge. Not a word more with *Tabitha,* but die she would before God or the deuill would haue her: shee sounded and reuiued, and then sounded
35 again, and after she reuiued | againe, sighed heauily, spoke F 1v

3 *Run on in A.* 5 dreamd *A.* 9 friend here *Petro A.* 16–7 cride murther *Q.* 20 thorough *A.* 35 againe *c.w.*

faintly and pittifully, yea, and so pittifully, as if a man had not knowen the prankes of harlots before, he would haue melted into commiseration. Tears, sighs, and dolefull tuned wordes could not make anie forcible claime to my stonie eares; it was the glittering crownes that I hungred 5 and thirsted after, & with them for all her mocke holy daie iestures she was faine to come off, before I condescended to anie bargaine of silence. So it fortuned (fie vppon that vnfortunate worde of Fortune) that this whoore, this queane, this curtizan, this common of ten thousand, so bribing me 10 not to bewray her, had giuen me a great deal of counterfeit gold, which she had receiued of a coyner to make awaie a little before. Amongst the grosse summe of my briberie, I, silly milkesop, mistrusting no deceit, vnder an angell of light tooke what shee gaue me, nere turnd it ouer, for 15 which (O falsehood in faire shewe) my master & I had lyke to haue bin turnd ouer. He that is a knight arrant, exercised in the affaires of Ladies and Gentlewomen, hath more places to send mony to thã the deuil hath to send his spirits to. There was a delicate wench named *Flauia* 20 *Aemilia* lodging in saint Markes street at a goldsmiths, which I would faine haue had to the grand test, to trie whether she were cunning in Alcumie or no. Aie me, she was but a counterfet slip, for she not onely gaue me the slip, but had welnigh made me a slipstring. To her I sent 25 my golde to beg an houre of grace: ah, graceles fornicatres, my hostesse and shee were confederate, who hauing gotten but one peece of my ill golde in their handes, deuised the meanes to make me immortall. I could drinke for anger till my head akt, to thinke howe I was abused. 30 Shall I shame the deuill and speak the truth? To prison was I sent as principal, and my master as accessarie; nor was it to a prison neither, but to the master of the mintes house, who though partlie our iudge, and a most seuere

1 so pittifullly *B.* 3 into] in *A.* Tears] *A*: Tares *B.* 5 glistering *A.* 7 I woulde condiscend *A.* 19 diuell *A.* 20 named] called *A.* 21 saint] S. *A.* 23 cunning] currant *A.* 28 in] into *A.*

vpright iustice in his own nature, extremely seemed to condole our ignorant estate, and without all peraduenture a present redresse he had ministred, if certaine of our countrymen, hearing an English Earle was apprehended for
5 coyning, had not come to visite vs. An ill planet brought them thether, for at the first glance they knew the seruant of my secrecies to be the Earle of Surrie, and I (not worthy to be named I) an outcast of his cuppe or pantofles. Thence, thence sprong the full period of our infelicity.
10 The master of the mint, our whilom refresher and consolation, now tooke part against vs; he thought we had a mint in our heads of mischiuous conspiracies against their state. Heauens bare witnes with | vs it was not so, F 2 (heauens will not alwayes come to witnes when they are
15 cald.)

To a straiter ward were we committed: that which we haue imputatiuely transgressed must be answered. O, the heathen heigh passe and the intrinsecall legerdemaine of our special approued good pandor, *Petro de Campo Frego.*
20 He, although he dipt in the same dish with vs euerie daie, seeming to labour our cause verie importunatly, & had interpreted for vs to the state from the beginning, yet was one of those trecherous brother *Trulies*, and abused vs most clarkly. He interpreted to vs with a pestilence, for
25 wheras we stood obstinatly vpon it, we were wrongfully deteined, and that it was naught but a malicious practise of sinfull *Tabitha*, our late hostes, he, by a fine cunny-catching corrupt translation, made vs plainly to confesse, and crie *Miserere*, ere we had need of our necke-verse.

30 Detestable, detestable, that the flesh and the deuill shoulde deale by their factors. Ile stand to it, there is not a pandor but hath vowed paganisme. The deuel himselfe is not such a deuil as he, so be he perform his function aright. He must haue the backe of an asse, the snout of

2 eur ignoraut *B.* 4 Englsh *B.* 8 or his pantofles *A.* 12 head *A.* 16 *New par. A. Run on in B.* 27 hostesse *A.* conny-catching *A.* 30 *New par. A. Run on in B, Gro.* 31 factors, Ile *B.* 33 scuh *B.*

an elephant, the wit of a foxe, and the teeth of a wolfe; he must faune like a spaniell, crouch like a Iew, liere like a sheepbiter. If he be halfe a puritan, and haue scripture continually in his mouth, hee speeds the better. I can tell you it is a trade of great promotion, & let none euer thinke 5 to mount by seruice in forain courts, or creep neere to some magnifique Lords, if they be not seene in this science. O, it is the art of arts, and ten thousand times goes beyond the intelligencer. None but a staid graue ciuill man is capable of it; he must haue exquisite courtship in him 10 or else he is not old who, he wants the best point in his tables.

God be mercifull to our pandor (and that were for God to worke a miracle), he was seene in all the seuen liberall deadly sciences, not a sinne but he was as absolute in as 15 sathan himselfe. Sathan could neuer haue supplanted vs so as hee did. I may saie to you, he planted in vs the first Italionate wit that we had. During the time we lay close and tooke phisick in this castle of contemplation, there was a magnificos wife of good calling sent to beare vs 20 companie. Her husbands name was *Castaldo*, she hight *Diamante*: the cause of her committing was an vngrounded ielous suspition which her doting husband had conceiued of her chastitie. One *Isaac Medicus*, a bergomast, was the man he chose to make him a monster, who being a courtier, 25 and repairing to his house very often, neither for loue of him nor his wife, but only with a drift to borrow mony of a paune of wax and parchment, when he sawe his expectation |
F 2v deluded, & that *Castaldo* was too charie for him to close with, hee priuily, with purpose of reuenge, gaue out amongest 30 his copesmates that he resorted to *Castaldos* house for no other end but to cuckolde him, and doubtfully he talkt that he had and he had not obtained his sute. Rings which he borrowed of a light curtizan that hee vsed to, he would faine to be taken from her fingers, and, in summe, so 35

11 or else [if] he is not old he wants *Gro.* 13 *New par. A. Run on in B.*
20 sent in to *A.* 21 compauie *B.* 29 deluded *c.w.* 35 her] *A*: his *B.*

handled the matter, that *Castaldo* exclaimd, Out, whore, strumpet, six penie hackster, away with her to prison.

As glad were we almost as if they had giuen vs libertie, that fortune lent vs such a sweete pue-fellow. A pretie 5 rounde faced wench was it, with blacke eie browes, a high forehead, a little mouth, and a sharpe nose, as fat and plum euerie part of her as a plouer, a skin as slike and soft as the backe of a swan, it doth me good when I remember her. Like a bird she tript on the grounde, and bare out her belly 10 as maiesticall as an Estrich. With a licorous rouling eie fixt piercing on the earth, and sometimes scornfully darted on the tone side, she figured forth a high discontented disdaine; much like a prince puffing and storming at the treason of some mightie subiect fled lately out of his power. 15 Her very countenaunce repiningly wrathfull, and yet cleere and vnwrinkled, would haue confirmed the cleernes of her conscience to the austerest iudge in the worlde. If in anie thing shee were culpable, it was in beeing too melancholy chast, and shewing her selfe as couetous of her beautie as 20 hir husband was of his bags. Many are honest because they know not howe to bee dishonest: shee thought there was no pleasure in stolne bread, because there was no pleasure in an olde mans bed. It is almost impossible that any woman should be excellently wittie, and not make the 25 vtmost pennie of her beautie. This age and this countrie of ours admits of some miraculous exceptions, but former times are my constant informers. Those that haue quicke motions of wit haue quicke motions in euerie thing: yron onely needs many strokes, only yron wits are not wonne 30 without a long siege of intreatie. Gold easily bends, the most ingenious mindes are easiest mooued, *Ingenium nobis molle Thalia dedit*, sayth *Psapho* to *Phao*. Who hath no mercifull milde mistres, I will maintaine, hath no wittie but a clownish dull flegmatike puppie to his mistres.

35 This magnificos wife was a good louing soule that had mettall inough in her to make a good wit of, but being

27 informers Those *A*.

neuer remoued from vnder her mothers and her husbands wing, it was not molded and fashioned as it ought. Causeles F 3 distrust is able to driue deceit into a | simple womans head. I durst pawne the credite of a page, which is worth ams ace at all times, that she was immaculate honest till she met 5 with vs in prison. Mary, what temptations she had then, when fire and flax were put together, conceit with your selues, but hold my master excusable.

Alacke, he was too vertuous to make her vicious; he stood vpon religion and conscience, what a hainous thing it 10 was to subuert Gods ordinance. This was all the iniurie he would offer her: sometimes he would imagine her in a melancholy humor to bee his *Geraldine*, and court her in tearmes correspondent; nay, he would sweare she was his *Geraldine*, and take her white hand and wipe his eyes with 15 it, as though the verie touch of her might staunch his anguish. Now would he kneele & kisse the ground as holy ground which she vouchsafed to blesse from barrennes by her steppes. Who would haue learned to write an excellent passion, might haue bin a perfect tragick poet, had he but 20 attended halfe the extremitie of his lament. Passion vpon passion would throng one on anothers necke, he wold praise her beyond the moone and starres, and that so sweetly and rauishingly as I perswade my self he was more in loue with his own curious forming fancie than her face; and truth it 25 is, many become passionate louers onely to winne praise to theyr wits.

He praised, he praied, he desired and besought her to pittie him that perisht for her. From this his intranced mistaking extasie could no man remoue him. Who loueth 30 resolutely wil include euery thing vnder the name of his loue. From prose hee would leape into verse, and with these or such like rimes assault her.

If I must die, O, let me choose my death:
Sucke out my soule with kisses, cruell maide, 35

1 mothers] *A*: mother *B*. 3 simpl *c.w.* 9 *New par. A. Run on in B.* 19 hau(?) *B*. 24 ranishingly *B*.

In thy breasts christall bals enbalme my breath,
Dole it all out in sighs when I am laide.
Thy lips on mine like cupping glasses claspe,
Let our tongs meete and striue as they would sting,
5 *Crush out my winde with one strait girting graspe,*
Stabs on my heart keepe time whilest thou doest sing.
Thy eyes lyke searing yrons burne out mine,
In thy faire tresses stifle me outright,
Like Circes change me to a loathsome swine,
10 *So I may liue for euer in thy sight.*
Into heauens ioyes none can profoundly see,
Except that first they meditate on thee. |

Sadly and verily, if my master sayde true, I shoulde if F 3v I were a wench make many men quickly immortall. What 15 ist, what ist for a maide fayre and fresh to spend a little lip-salue on a hungrie louer? My master beate the bush and kepte a coyle and a pratling, but I caught the birde: simplicitie and plainnesse shall carrie it away in another world. God wot he was *Petro Desperato*, when I stepping to her 20 with a dunstable tale made vp my market. A holy requiem to their soules that thinke to wooe a woman with riddles. I hadde some cunning plot, you must suppose, to bring this about. Hir husband had abused her, and it was verie necessarie she should be reuenged. Seldome doe they prooue 25 patient martyrs who are punisht vniustly: one waie or other they will crie quittance whatsoeuer it cost them. No other apt meanes had this poore shee captiued *Cicely*, to worke her hoddie peake husband a proportionable plague for his iealousie, but to giue his head his full loading of imfamie. 30 Shee thought shee would make him complaine for some thing, that now was so harde bound with an hereticall opinion. How I dealt with her, gesse, gentle reader, *subaudi* that I was in prison, and she my silly Iaylor.

Meanes there was made after a moneths or two durance

5 *craspe B.* 11 *none can*] *can none A.* 21 wooe women *A*: wooe a women *B.* 24 reuenged: seldome *B.* 25 vniustly. One *A*: vniustly, one *B.* 28 for] to *A.* 29 loadiug *B.* infamie *A.* 33 she was my Iailor. *A.*

by M. *Iohn Russell*, a Gentleman of king *Henrie* the eights chamber, who then laie lieger at *Venice* for England, that our cause should be fauorably heard. At that time was Monsieur *Petro Aretino* searcher and chiefe Inquisiter to the colledge of curtizans. Diuerse and sundrie waies was 5 this *Aretine* beholding to the king of England, especially for by this foresayd master *Iohn Russell*, a little before, he had sent him a pension of foure hundred crownes yerely during his life. Verie forcibly was he dealt withall, to straine the vtmost of his credit for our deliuerie out of prison. 10 Nothing at his hands we sought, but that the curtizan might bee more narrowly sifted and examined. Such and so extraordinarie was his care and industrie herein, that, within few dayes after, mistres *Tabitha* and her pandor cride *Peccaui*, *confiteor*, and we were presently discharged, 15 they for example sake executed. Most honorably, after our inlargement, of the state were we vsed, & had sufficient recompence for all our troubles & wrongs.

Before I goe anie further, let me speake a word or two of this *Aretine*. It was one of the wittiest knaues that euer 20 God made. If out of so base a thing as inke there may bee extracted a spirite, hee writ with nought but the spirite of inke, and his stile was the spiritualitie of artes, and nothing else; whereas all others of his age were but the F 4 lay temporaltie of inkehorne tearmes. For indeede | they 25 were meere temporizers, and no better. His pen was sharp pointed lyke a poinyard; no leafe he wrote on but was lyke a burning glasse to set on fire all his readers. With more than musket shot did he charge his quill, where hee meant to inueigh. No houre but hee sent a whole 30 legion of deuils into some heard of swine or other. If *Martiall* had ten Muses (as he saith of himselfe) when he but tasted a cup of wine, he had ten score when he determined to tyrannize: nere a line of his but was able to

4 to] for *A*. 6 Englnnd *B*. 7 foresaid M. *Russell A*. 8 hundreth *A*. 10 out of prison] *om*. *A*. 27 like ponyard *A*. 29 then *A*. 30 No one houre *A*.

make a man dronken with admiration. His sight pearst like lightning into the entrailes of all abuses. This I must needes saie, that most of his learning hee got by hearing the lectures at Florence. It is sufficient that learning he
5 had, and a conceit exceeding all learning, to quintescence euerie thing which hee heard. He was no timerous seruile flatterer of the commonwealth wherein he liued. His tongue & his inuention were foreborne; what they thought, they would confidently vtter. Princes hee spard not,
10 that in the least point transgrest. His lyfe he contemned in comparison of the libertie of speech. Whereas some dull braine maligners of his accuse him of that Treatise, *de tribus impostoribus Mundi*, which was neuer contriued without a generall counsell of deuils, I am verily perswaded
15 it was none of his; and of my minde are a number of the most iudicial Italians. One reason is this, because it was published fortie yeres after his death, and hee neuer in his lyfe time wrote anie thing in Latine. Certainly I haue heard that one of *Machuels* followers and disciples was the
20 author of that booke, who, to auoyde discredit, filcht it forth vnder *Aretines* name, a great while after he had sealed vp his eloquent spirit in the graue. Too much gall dyd that wormwood of Gibeline wittes put in his inke, who ingraued that rubarbe Epitaph on this excellent poets
25 tombstone. Quite forsaken of all good Angels was he, and vtterly giuen ouer to artlesse enuie. Foure vniuersities honoured *Aretine* wyth these rich titles, *Il flagello de principi*, *Il veriticro*, *Il deuino*, & *L'vnico Aretino*.

The French king, *Frances* the first, he kept in such awe,
30 that to chaine his tongue he sent him a huge chaine of golde, in the forme of tongues fashioned. Singularly hath he commented of the humanitie of Christ. Besides, as Moses set forth his Genesis, so hath hee set forth his Genesis also, including the contents of the whole Bible. A
35 notable Treatise hath he compiled, called, *Il sètte Psalmi*

2 like] *A* : *om. B.* 5 learnlug *B.* 7 liued, his *B.* 17–8 in all his life *A.* 18 time] *om. A.* 26 to an artlesse *A.* 29 *New par. A. Run on in B.*

pœnetentiarii. All the *Thomasos* haue cause to loue him, because hee hath dilated so magnificently of the lyfe of Saint *Thomas.* There is a good thing that hee hath sette F 4v foorth, *La vita della virgine Maria,* | though it somewhat smell of superstition; with a number more, which here for 5 tediousnes I suppresse. If lasciuious he were, he may answere with *Ouid, Vita verecunda est, musa iocosa mea est;* My lyfe is chast though wanton be my verse. Tell mee, who is trauelled in histories, what good poet is, or euer was there, who hath not hadde a lyttle spice of wantonnesse in 10 his dayes? Euen *Beza* himselfe by your leaue. *Aretine,* as long as the world liues shalt thou liue. *Tully, Virgil, Ouid, Seneca* were neuer such ornamentes to Italy as thou hast bin. I neuer thought of Italy more religiously than England till I heard of thee. Peace to thy Ghost, 15 and yet me thinkes so indefinite a spirit should haue no peace or intermission of paines, but be penning ditties to the archangels in another world. Puritans, spue forth the venome of your dull inuentions. A toade swels with thicke troubled poison, you swell with poisonous perturbations; 20 your malice hath not a cleere dram of anie inspired disposition.

My principall subiect pluckes me by the elbowe. *Diamante, Castaldos* ỹ magnificos wife, after my enlargement proued to be with child, at which instant there grew 25 an vnsatiable famine in Venice, wherein, whether it were for meere niggardise, or that *Castaldo* stil eate out his heart with iealousie, saint *Anne* be our record, he turnd vp the heels verie deuoutly. To master *Aretine* after this, once more verie dutifully I appeald, requested him of fauour, 30 acknowledged former gratuities: he made no more humming or halting, but, in despite of her husbands kinsfolkes, gaue her her *Nunc dimittis,* and so establisht her free of my companie.

8-9 mee who *Q.* 9 is most trauelled *A.* 11 his] *om. A.* 14 thouhast *B.* beene *A.* 18-9 Puritans . . . inuentions] *A* : *om. B.* 23-4 elbowe, *Diamante Q.* 24 *Calstaldos B.*

Being out, and fully possest of her husbands goods, she inuested me in the state of a monarch. Because the time of child-birth drew nigh, and she could not remaine in Venice but discredited, shee decreed to trauell whether so 5 euer I would conduct her. To see Italy throughout was my proposed scope, and that waie if she would trauell, haue with her, I had wherewithall to releeue her.

From my master by her ful-hand prouokement I parted without leaue: the state of an Earle he had thrust vpon me 10 before, & now I would not bate him an ace of it. Through all the cities past I by no other name but the yong Earle of Surry; my pomp, my apparel, traine, and expence, was nothing inferior to his, my looks were as loftie, my wordes as magnificall. Memorandum, that Florence being the 15 principall scope of my masters course, missing mee, hee iourneyed thether without interruption. By the waie as hee went, hee heard of another Earle of Surry besides himselfe, which caused him make more hast to fetch me in, whom hee little dreamed off had such | arte in my budget, to G 1 20 separate the shadow from the bodie. Ouertake me at Florence he did, where, sitting in my pontificalibus with my curtizan at supper, lyke *Anthonie* and *Cleopatra*, when they quafte standing boules of Wine spiced with pearle together, he stole in ere we sent for him, and bad much good it vs, 25 and askt vs whether wee wanted anie gests. If he had askt me whether I would haue hanged my selfe, his question had bin more acceptable. Hee that had then vngartered me might haue pluckt out my heart at my heeles.

My soule which was made to soare vpward, now sought 30 for passage downward; my bloud, as the blushing Sabine maids, surprised on the sodaine by the souldiers of *Romulus*, ranne to the noblest of bloud amongst them for succour, that were in no lesse (if not greater) danger, so did it runne for refuge to the noblest of his bloude about my hart assembled, 35 that stood in more need it selfe of comfort and refuge. A

10 ace] inch *A*. 15 hee *B*. 19 of *A*. 27 beene *A*. 28 heeles] hams *A*. 32 amongest *A*. 33)] *after* danger *Q*.

trembling earthquake or shaking feauer assailed either of vs; and I thinke vnfainedly, if he, seeing our faint heart agonie, had not soone cheered and refreshed vs, the dogs had gone together by the eares vnder the table for our feare-dropped lims. 5

In sted of menacing or afrighting me with his swoorde or his frounes for my superlatiue presumption, he burst out into laughter aboue Ela, to thinke how brauely napping he had tooke vs, and how notably we were dampt and stroke dead in the neast, with the vnexpected view of his 10 presence.

Ah, quoth he, my noble Lorde, (after his tongue had borrowed a little leaue of his laughter,) is it my lucke to visite you thus vnlookt for? I am sure you will bidde mee welcome, if it bee but for the names sake. It is a wonder to 15 see two English Earles of one house at one time together in Italy. I, hearing him so pleasant, began to gather vp my spirites, and replid as boldly as I durst: Sir, you are welcome, your name which I borrowed I haue not abused; some large summes of monie this my sweet mistres 20 *Diamante* hath made me master of, which I knew not how better to imploy for the honor of my country, than by spending it munificently vnder your name. No English-man would I haue renowmed for bountie, magnificence, and curtesie but you; vnder your colours all my meritorious workes 25 I was desirous to shroud. Deeme it no insolence to adde increase to your fame. Had I basely and beggarly, wanting abilitie to support anie part of your roialtie, vndertooke the estimation of this high calling, your alleadgement of iniurie had bin the greater, and my defence lesse authorised. It 30 will be thought but a policie of yours thus to send one be-
G 1v fore you, who, being a follower | of yours, shall keepe and vpholde the estate and port of an Earle. I haue knowen many Earles my selfe that in their owne persons would go verie plaine, but delighted to haue one that belonged to 35

8 into a laughter *A*. 9–10 aud stroke *B*. 14 for, I *Q*. 17 heariug *B*. 19 I haue borrowed *A*. 26–7 Deeme... fame.] *A*: *om*. *B*. 30 ben *A*.

them (being loden with iewels, apparelled in cloth of golde and al the rich imbroderie that might be) to stand bare headed vnto him; arguing thus much, that if the greatest men went not more sumptuous, how more great than the 5 greatest was he that could cõmand one going so sumptuous. A noble mans glory appeareth in nothing so much as in the pompe of his attendants. What is the glory of the Sunne, but that the Moone and so many millions of starres borrow their lights from him? If you can reprehend me of 10 anie one illiberall licentious action I haue disparaged your name with, heape shame on me prodigally, I beg no pardon or pittie.

Non veniunt in idem pudor & amor, he was loth to detract from one that he loued so. Beholding with his eyes 15 that I clipte not the wings of his honour, but rather increast them with additions of expence, he intreated me as if I had bin an Embassadour; he gaue mee his hand and swore he had no more heartes but one, and I shoulde haue halfe of it, in that I so inhanced his obscured reputation. One thing, 20 quoth he, my sweet *Iacke*, I will intreate thee, (it shall bee but one,) that though I am well pleased thou shouldest bee the ape of my birthright, (as what noble man hath not his ape & his foole?) yet that thou be an ape without a clog, not carrie thy curtizan with thee. I tolde him that a king 25 could doe nothing without his treasurie; this curtizan was my purs-bearer, my countenance and supporter. My Earledome I would sooner resigne than parte with such a specyall benefactor. Resigne it I will how euer, since I am thus challenged of stolne goods by the true owner: Lo, into my 30 former state I return agayne; poore *Iack Wilton* and your seruant am I, as I was at the beginning, and so wil I perseuer to my liues ending.

That theame was quickly cut off, & other talke entered in place, of what I haue forgot, but talke it was, and talke 35 let it be, & talke it shall be, for I do not meane here to remember it. Wee supt, we got to bed, rose in the morning,

9 light *A*. 20 shalbe *A*. 28 benefactresse *A*. 36 we rose *A*.

on my master I waited, & the first thing he did after he was vp, he went and visited the house where his *Geraldine* was borne, at sight whereof hee was so impassioned that in the open street, but for me, he would haue made an oration in prayse of it. Into it we were conducted, and shewed 5 eache seuerall roome thereto appertaining. O, but when hee came to the chamber where his *Geraldines* cleere Sun-G 2 beames first thrust themselues into this | cloud of flesh, and acquainted mortalitie with the purity of Angels, then did his mouth ouerflow with magnificats, his tong thrust the 10 starres out of heauen, and eclipsed the Sun and Moone with comparisons; *Geraldine* was the soule of heauen, sole daughter and heir to *primus motor*. The alcumie of his eloquence, out of the incomprehensible drossie matter of cloudes and aire, distilled no more quintescence than would 15 make his *Geraldine* compleat faire. In prayse of the chamber that was so illuminatiuely honored with her radiant conception, he penned this sonet.

Faire roome, the presence of sweet beauties pride,
The place the Sunne vpon the earth did hold, 20
When Phaeton his chariot did misguide,
The towre where Ioue raind downe himselfe in golde,
Prostrate, as holy ground Ile worship thee;
Our Ladies chappell henceforth be thou namd;
Here first loues Queene put on mortalitie, 25
And with her beautie all the world inflamd.
Heauens chambers harbering fierie cherubines,
Are not with thee in glorie to compare;
Lightning it is, not light, which in thee shines,
None enter thee but straight intranced are. 30
O, if Elizium be aboue the ground,
Then here it is, where nought but ioy is found.

Many other poems and epigrams in that chambers patient alablaster inclosure (which her melting eies long sithence

16 In praise . . .] *New par. A.* 17 illnminatiuely *B.* 29 *Lightning . . . which*] *A*: *Lightning it is no lightning which B.*

had softned) were curiously ingraued. Diamonds thought thẽselues *Dii mundi*, if they might but carue her name on the naked glasse. With thẽ on it did he anatomize these body-wanting mots, *Dulce puella malum est. Quod fugit*
5 *ipse sequor. Amor est mihi causa sequẽdi. O infœlix ego. Cur vidi? cur perii? Non patienter amo. Tantũ patiatur amari.* After the view of these veneriall monuments, he published a proud challenge in the Duke of Florence court against all commers, (whether Christians, Turkes, Iewes, or
10 Saracens,) in defence of his *Geraldines* beautie. More mildly was it accepted in that she whom he defended was a towne borne child of that citie, or else the pride of the Italian would haue preuented him ere he should haue come to performe it. The Duke of Florence neuerthelesse sent
15 for him, and demaunded him of his estate and the reason that drew him thereto, which when hee was aduertised of to the full, hee graunted all Countryes whatsoeuer, as well enemies and outlawes as friends and confederates, | free G 2v accesse and regresse into his dominions vnmolested, vntill
20 that insolent triall were ended.

The right honorable and euer renowmed Lord *Henrie Howard*, earle of Surrie, my singular good Lord and master, entered the lists after this order. His armour was all intermixed with lillyes and roses, and the bases thereof
25 bordered with nettles and weeds, signifieng stings, crosses, and ouergrowing incumberances in his loue; his helmet round proportioned lyke a gardners water-pot, from which seemed to issue forth small thrids of water, like citterne strings, that not onely did moisten the lyllyes and roses,
30 but did fructifie as well the nettles and weeds, and made them ouergrow theyr liege Lords. Whereby he did import thus much, that the teares that issued from his braines, as those arteficiall distillations issued from the well counterfeit water-pot on his head, watered and gaue lyfe as well to his
35 mistres disdaine (resembled to nettles and weeds) as increase

4 *malum est*] *A* : *malnest B.* 7 veneriall] *A* : generall *B.* 9 Turkes, Canibals, Iewes *A.* 10)] *om. Q.*

of glorie to her care-causing beauty (comprehended vnder the lillies and roses). The simbole thereto annexed was this, *Ex lachrimis lachrimæ*. The trappings of his horse were pounced and bolstered out with rough plumed siluer plush, in full proportion and shape of an Estrich. On the 5 breast of the horse were the fore-parts of this greedie bird aduanced, whence, as his manner is, hee reacht out his long necke to the raines of the bridle, thinking they had bin yron, & styll seemed to gape after the golden bit, and euer as the courser did raise or coruet, to haue swallowed it halfe in. 10 His wings, which he neuer vseth but running, beeing spread full saile, made his lustie stead as proud vnder him as he had bin some other *Pegasus*, & so quiueringly and tenderly were these his broade winges bounde to either side of him, that as he paced vp and downe the tilt-yard in his maiesty 15 ere the knights were entered, they seemed wantonly to fan in his face and make a flickering sound, such as Eagles doe, swiftly pursuing their praie in the ayre. On either of his wings, as the Estrich hath a sharpe goad or pricke wherewith he spurreth himselfe forward in his saile-assisted race, 20 so this arteficiall Estrich, on the inbent knuckle of the pinion of either wing, had embossed christall eyes affixed, wherein wheelewise were circularly ingrafted sharpe pointed diamonds, as rayes from those eyes deriued, that like the rowell of a spur ran deep into his horse sides, and made 25 him more eager in his course.

Such a fine dim shine did these christall eies and these round enranked diamonds make through their bolne swelling bowres of feathers as if it had bin a candle in a paper lanterne, G 3 or a gloworme | in a bush by night, glistering through the 30 leaues & briers. The taile of the estrich, being short and thicke, serued verie fitly for a plume to tricke vp his horse taile with, so that euery parte of him was as naturally coapted as might be. The worde to this deuice was *Aculeo*

8 beene *A*. 11 spreaded *A*. 13 beene *A*. 21 imbent *A*. 25 rowels *A*. 27 *New par. A. Run on in B.* 29 beene *A*. 32 for] as *A*.

alatus, I spread my wings onely spurd with her eyes. The
morall of the whole is this, that as the estrich, the most
burning sighted bird of all others, insomuch as the female
of them hatcheth not her egs by couering them, but by the
5 effectual rayes of her eyes, as he, I say, outstrippeth the
nimblest trippers of his feathered condition in footmanship,
onely spurd on with the needle quickning goad vnder his
side, so he, no lesse burning sighted than the estrich, spurde
on to the race of honor by the sweet rayes of his mistres
10 eyes, perswaded himselfe he should outstrip all other in
running to the goale of glorie, onely animated and incited
by hir excellence. And as the estrich will eate yron, swallow
anie hard mettall whatsoeuer, so woulde he refuse no iron
aduenture, no hard taske whatsoeuer, to sit in the grace of
15 so fayre a commander. The order of his shielde was this:
it was framed lyke a burning glasse, beset rounde with flame
coloured feathers, on the outside whereof was his mistres
picture adorned as beautifull as arte could portrature; on
the inside a naked sword tyed in a true loue knot; the
20 mot, *Militat omnis amans*. Signifieng that in a true loue
knot his sword was tied to defend and maintaine the
features of his mistres.

Next him entered the blacke knight, whose beuer was
pointed all torne & bloudie, as though he had new come
25 from combatting with a Beare; his head piece seemed to
bee a little ouen fraught full with smoothering flames, for
nothing but sulphur and smoake voided out at the clefts of
his beuer. His bases were all imbrodred with snakes and
adders, ingendered of the aboundaunce of innocent bloud
30 that was shed. His horses trappinges were throughout
bespangled with hunnie spottes, which are no blemishes,
but ornaments. On his shield hee bare the Sunne full
shining on a diall at his going downe; the word, *sufficit
tandem*.

35 After him followed the knight of the Owle, whose armor

6 in] *A*: and *B*. 13 iron] *A*: *om. B*. 14 whatsoener *B*. 19 knot] *A*: knit *B*. 21–2 the high features *A*.

was a stubd tree ouergrowne with iuie, his helmet fashioned lyke an owle sitting on the top of this iuie; on his bases were wrought all kinde of birdes, as on the grounde, wondering about him; the word, *Ideo mirum quia monstrum*: his horses furniture was framed like a carte, scattering 5 whole sheaues of corne amongst hogs; the word, *Liberalitas liberalitate perit*. On his shield a Bee intangled in sheepes G 3v wool; | the mot, *Frontis nulla fides*. The fourth that succeeded was a wel proportioned knight in an armor imitating rust, whose head peece was prefigured lyke 10 flowers growing in a narrowe pot, where they had not anie space to spread their roots or disperse their flourishing. His bases embelisht with open armed hands scatring gold amongst trunchions; the word, *Cura futuri est*. His horse was harnessed with leaden chaines, hauing the out-side 15 guilt, or at least saffrond in sted of gilt, to decypher a holy or golden pretence of a couetous purpose; the sentence, *Cani capilli mei compedes*: on his target he had a number of crawling wormes kept vnder by a blocke; the faburthen, *Speramus lucent*. The fift was the forsaken knight, whose 20 helmet was crowned with nothing but cipresse and willow garlandes: ouer his armour he had *Himens* nuptiall robe, died in a duskie yelowe, and all to be defaced and discoloured with spots and staines. The enigma, *Nos quoque florimus*, as who should say, we haue bin in fashion: 25 his sted was adorned with orenge tawnie eies, such as those haue that haue the yellow iandies, that make all things yellow they looke vppon, with this briefe, *Qui inuident egent*, those that enuy are hungry. The sixt was the knight of the stormes, whose helmet was rounde molded 30 lyke the moone, and all his armor like waues, whereon the shine of the moone, slightly siluerd, perfectly represented moone-shine in the water; his bases were the bankes or shores that bounded in the streames. The spoke was this,

13 scattering golde *A*: scatring like gold *B*. 15 harnished *A*. 22 had on *Himens* nuptiall robe *A*: had *Hiems* nuptiall robe *B*. 23 *Qy. read* all to defaced? 27 makes *Gro*. 32 sleightly *A*.

Frustra pius, as much to saye as fruitlesse seruice. On his shield hee set foorth a lion driuen from his praie by a dunghill cock. The word, *Non vi sed voce*, not by violence but by voyce.

5 The seuenth had, lyke the giants that sought to scale heauen in despight of *Iupiter*, a mount ouerwhelming his head and whole bodie; his bases out-laid with armes and legges which the skirtes of that mountaine left vncouered. Vnder this did he characterise a man desirous to climbe to 10 the heauen of honour, kept vnder with the mountaine of his princes command, and yet had he armes and legs exempted from the suppression of that mountain. The word, *Tu mihi criminis author* (alluding to his Princes command), thou art the occasion of my imputed cowardise. His horse 15 was trapt in the earthie strings of tree rootes, which though theyr increase was stubbed downe to the ground, yet were they not vtterly deaded, but hoped for an after resurrection. The worde, *Spe alor*, I hope for a spring. Vpon his shield he bare a ball, striken downe with a mans hand that it 20 might mount. The worde, *Ferior vt efferar*, I suffer my selfe to be contemned because I will climbe. The eight had all his | armor throughout engrailed like a crabbed G 4 brierie hawthorne bush, out of which notwithstanding sprong (as a good child of an il father) fragrant blossomes 25 of delightfull may flowers, that made (according to the nature of may) a most odoriferous smell. In midst of this his snowie curled top, round wrapped together, on the ascending of his creast sate a solitarie nightingale close encaged, with a thorne at her breast, hauing this mot in 30 her mouth, *Luctus monumenta manebunt*. At the foot of this bush represented on his bases, laye a number of blacke swolne Toads gasping for winde, and Summer liude grashoppers gaping after deaw, both which were choakt with excessiue drouth for want of shade. The worde, *Non sine*

4 by his voice *A*. 5 *New par. A. Run on in B*. 7 bodie. His *Q*. 8–9 vncouered, vnder *B*. 21 eighth *A*. 22 armour *c.w*. 24 sprung *A*. 26 middest *A*. 34 drouth, and for *A*.

vulnere viresco, I spring not without impedimentes, alluding to the Toads and such lyke, that earst lay sucking at his rootes, but nowe were turnd out, and neere choakt with drought. His horse was suted in blacke sandy earth (as adiacent to this bush) which was here and there patched 5 with short burnt grasse, and as thicke inke-dropped with toiling ants and emets as euer it might crall, who, in the full of the summer moone (ruddie garnished on his horses forehead), hoorded vp theyr prouision of graine against winter. The worde, *Victrix fortunæ sapientia*, prouidence 10 preuents misfortune. On his shield he set foorth the picture of death doing almes deeds to a number of poore desolate children. The word, *Nemo alius explicat.* No other man takes pittie vpon vs. What his meaning was herein I cannot imagine, except death had done him and 15 his brethren some great good turne in ridding thẽ of some vntoward parent or kinsman that would haue beene their confusion; for else I cannot see howe death shoulde haue bin sayd to doe almes deedes, except hee had depriued them sodainly of their liues, to deliuer them out of some 20 further miserie; which could not in anie wise be, because they were yet lyuing.

The ninth was the infant knight, who on his armour hadde ennameld a poore young infant put into a shippe without tackling, masts, furniture, or anie thing. This 25 weather-beaten or ill apparelled ship was shadowed on his bases, and the slender compasse of his bodie set forth the right picture of an infant. The waues wherein the ship was tossed were fretted on his steads trappinges so mouingly, that euer as he offered to bound or stir, they 30 seemed to bounse and tosse, and sparkle brine out of their hoarie siluer billowes; the mot, *Inopem me copia fecit*, as much to saye as the rich pray makes the theefe. |

G 4v On his shield he expressed an olde goate that made

6 inke dropped *Q.* 19 beene *A.* 21 bee because *A*: be cause *B.* 26 or] and *A.* 29 fretted] *A*: fettered *B.* 32 billowes. Theyr mot *A.* 34 *New par. A. New par. but not set in. B.*

a yong tree to wither onely with biting it; the word thereto, *Primo extinguor in æuo.* I am frost-bitten ere I come out of the blade.

It were here too tedious to manifest all the discontented
5 or amorous deuises that were vsed in this turnament: the shields onely of some fewe I wyl touch, to make short worke. One bare for his impresse the eyes of yong swallowes comming againe after they were pluckt out, with this mot, *Et addit et addimit,* your beautie both
10 bereaues and restores my sight. Another, a syren smiling when the sea rageth and ships are ouerwhelmed, including a cruell woman, that laughs, sings, and scornes at her louers teares and the tempestes of his despayre; the word, *Cuncta pereunt,* all my labor is ill imploide. A third,
15 being troubled with a curst, a trecherous, and wanton wife, vsed this similitude. On his shield he caused to be limmed *Pompeies* ordinance for paracides, as namely, a man put into a sacke with a cocke, a serpent, and an ape, interpreting that his wife was a cocke for her crowing, a serpent for
20 her stinging, and an ape for her vnconstant wantonnes, with which ill qualities he was so beset, that therby he was throwen into a sea of griefe; the word *Extremum malorum mulier,* the vtmost of euils is a woman. A fourth, who, being a person of suspected religion, was continually
25 haunted with intellygencers and spies that thought to praie vpon him for that he had, he could not deuise which waie to shake them off but by making away that he had. To obscure this, he vsed no other fansie but a number of blinde flyes, whose eyes the colde had closed; the word,
30 *Aurum reddit acutissimum,* Gold is the onely phisicke for the eie-sight. A fifth, whose mistres was fallen into a consumption and yet woulde condescend to no treatie of loue, emblazoned for his complaint grapes that withered for want of pressing. The dittie to the mot, *Quid regna sine*

1 it. The *A*: it, the *B*. 5 this] that *A*. turnament. The *A*.
12 aud scorues *B*. 13 of of *B*. 15 wanton wanton *A*. 21 qualities shee was *Gro.* 29 closed] *A*: inclosed *B*. 30 Gold] God *A*.

vsu. I wil rehearse no more, but I haue an hundred other: let this bee the vpshot of those shewes, they were the admirablest that euer Florence yelded. To particularize their manner of encounter were to describe the whole art of tilting. Some had like to haue fallen ouer their horse 5 neckes and so breake theyr neckes in breaking theyr staues. Others ranne at a buckle in sted of a button, and peraduenture whetted theyr speares pointes, idlely gliding on theyr enemies sides, but did no other harme. Others ranne a crosse at their aduersaryes left elbow, yea, and by your 10 leaue sometimes let not the lists scape scot-free, they were so eager. Others, because they woulde be sure not to be H 1 vnsadled with the shocke, when they came to the | speares vtmost proofe, they threwe it ouer the right shoulder, and so tilted backward, for forward they durst not. Another 15 had a monstrous spite at the pommel of his riuals saddle, and thought to haue thrust his speare twixt his legs without rasing anie skin, and carried him clean awaie on it as a coolestaffe. Another held his speare to his nose, or his nose to his speare, as though he had bin discharging his 20 caliuer, and ranne at the right foote of his fellowes stead. Onely the Earle of Surrie, my master, obserued the true measures of honour, and made all his encounterers new scoure their armor in the dust: so great was his glory that day as *Geraldine* was therby eternally glorifid. Neuer 25 such a bountiful master came amongst the heralds, (not that he did inrich them with anie plentifull purse largesse, but that by his sterne assaults he tithed them more rich offals of bases, of helmets, of armor, than the rent of their offices came to in ten yeres before.) 30

What would you haue more? the trumpets proclaimed him master of the field, the trumpets proclaimed *Geraldine* the exceptionlesse fayrest of women. Euerie one striued to magnifie him more than other. The Duke of Florence,

2 those] these (?) *A*, *Gro.*, *Gosse*. 5–6 their horse neck *A*. 11 someties *B*. 20 ben *A*. his] a *A*. 22 obsemed *B*. 24 dust. So *A*. 30)] *after* largesse *in l.* 27. *Q*. 33–4 Euerie one . . . other.] *A*: *om.* *B*.

whose name (as my memorie serueth me) was *Paschal de Medicis*, offered him such large proffers to stay with him as it were incredible to report. He would not; his desire was, as he had done in Florence, so to proceed throughout 5 all the chiefe cities in Italy. If you aske why hee began not this at Venice first; it was because he would let Florence, his mistres natiue citie, haue the maidenhead of his chiualrie. As he came backe agayne he thought to haue enacted some thing there worthie the Annals of 10 posteritie, but he was debard both of that and all his other determinations; for, continuing in feasting and banketting with the Duke of Florence and the Princes of Italy there assembled, post-hast letters came to him from the king his master, to returne as speedily as he could possible into 15 *England*; wherby his fame was quit cut off by the shins, and there was no repriue but *Bazelus manus*, hee must into England; and I with my curtizan trauelled forward in Italy.

What aduentures happened him after we parted, I am 20 ignorant, but Florence we both forsooke, and I, hauing a wonderfull ardent inclination to see Rome, the Queen of the world & metrapolitane mistres of all other cities, made thether with my bag and baggage as fast as I could.

Attained thether, I was lodged at the house of one 25 *Iohannes de Imola*, a Roman caualiero. Who, being acquainted with my curtisans deceased doting husband, for his sake vsd vs with all the famili-|aritie that might be. H 1v He shewed vs all the monumentes that were to bee seene, which are as manye as there haue beene Emperours, Con- 30 sulles, Oratours, Conquerours, famous painters or plaiers in *Rome*. Tyll this daie not a Romane (if he be a right Romane indeed) will kill a rat, but he will haue some registred remembraunce of it.

There was a poore fellowe during my remainder there,

3 were] *A* : was *B*. vncredible *A*. 6 not] *A* : *om*. *B*. first. It *Q*. 10 of] *A* : on *B*. 19 *New par*. *A*. *Run on in B*. 27–8 be, he *B*. 34 *Run on in A*.

that, for a newe tricke that hee had inuented of killing *Cymeses* and scorpions, had his montebanke banner hung vp on a high piller, with an inscription about it longer than the king of Spaines stile. I thought these *Cymesses*, lyke the Cimbrians, hadde beene some straunge Nation 5 hee hadde brought vnder, and they were no more but thinges lyke lice, which aliue haue the most venimous sting that maye bee, and beeing dead doe stinke out of measure; Saint Austen compareth heretikes vnto them. The chiefest thing that my eyes delighted in, was the church 10 of the seuen *Sibels*, which is a most miraculous thing; all their prophesies and oracles being there inrolde, as also the beginning and ending of theyr whole catalogue of the heathen Gods, with theyr manner of worship. There are a number of other shrines and statues dedicated to the 15 Emperours, and withall some statues of idolatrie reserued for detestation.

I was at *Pontius Pilates* house and pist against it. The name of the place I remember not, but it is as one goes to Saint Paules Church not farre from the iemmes *Piazza.* 20 There is the prison yet packt vp together (an olde rotten thing) wher the man that was condemned to death, and coulde haue no bodie come to him and succour him but was searcht, was kepte aliue a long space by sucking his daughters breasts. 25

These are but the shoppe dust of the sights that I sawe, and in truth I did not beholde with anie care hereafter to report, but contented my eie for the present, & so let them passe: should I memorize halfe the miracles which they there tolde mee had beene done about martyrs tombes, or 30 the operations of the earth of the sepulchre and other relikes brought from Ierusalem, I shoulde bee counted the most monstrous lyer that euer came in print. The ruines of

1 trick he *A*. 2 scorpious *B*. mountebank *A*. 7 like sheepe-lice *A*. most venimous] venomost *A*. 11 seuen] 7. *A*. thing. All *Q*. 15 statues also dedicated *A*. the] their *A*. 18 *Run on in A*. 18–20 The name . . . *Piazza*.] *om. A*. 26 *New par. A*. *Run on in B*. 32–3 the monstrous *Q*: the [most] monstrous *Gro*. 33 The ruines . . .] *New par. A*.

Pompeies theater, reputed one of the nine wõders of the world, *Gregory* yͤ sixths tombe, *Priscillas* grate, or the thousands of pillers arrered amongst the raced foundations of olde Rome, it were friuolous to specifie, since he that hath but once dronke with a traueller talks of them. Let me be a historiographer of my owne misfortunes, and | not meddle with the continued Trophees of so olde a triumphing Citie.

At my first comming to Rome, I, being a youth of the English cut, ware my haire long, went apparelled in light colours, and imitated foure or fiue sundry nations in my attire at once; which no sooner was noted, but I had all the boies of the citie in a swarme wondering about me.

I hadde not gone a little farther, but certaine officers croste the waie of mee, and demaunded to see my rapier: which when they found (as also my dagger) with his point vnblunted, they wold haue halde me headlong to the Strappado, but that with money I appeased them: and my fault was more pardonable in that I was a stranger, altogether ignorant of their customes.

Note, by the waye, that it is the vse in *Rome* for all men whatsoeuer to weare their haire short: which they doe not so much for conscience sake, or any religion they place in it, but because the extremitie of the heate is such there that, if they should not doe so, they should not haue a haire left on their heads to stand vpright when they were scard with sprights. And hee is counted no Gentleman amongest them that goes not in blacke: they dresse theyr iesters and fooles only in fresh colours, and saie variable garments doe argue vnstaiednes and vnconstancie of affections.

The reason of theyr straight ordinaunce for carrying weapons without points is this: The Bandettos, which are certayne outlawes that lie betwixt *Rome* and *Naples*, and

2 *Gregori B.* yͭ (?) *B.* 4 were heere friuolous *A.* 5 drunke *A.* 14 *Run on in A.* 15 damaunded *B.* 21 *New par. A. Run on in B.* 28 amongst *A.* 33 this. The *A.*

besiege the passage, that none can trauell that waie without robbing. Nowe and then, hired for some few crownes, they will steale to *Rome* and do a murther, and betake them to their heeles againe. Disguised as they goe, they are not knowen from strangers; sometimes they will 5 shroude themselues vnder the habite of graue citizens. In this consideration, neither citizen or stranger, gentleman, knight, marques, or anie may weare anie weapon endamageable vpon paine of the Strappado. I bought it out; let others buy experience of mee better cheape. 10

To tell you of the rare pleasures of their gardens, theyr bathes, theyr vineyardes, theyr galleries, were to write a seconde part of the gorgeous Gallerie of gallant deuices. Why, you should not come into anie mannes house of account, but hee hadde fish-pondes and little orchardes on 15 the toppe of his leads. If by raine or any other meanes H 2v those ponds were so full they need to be slust or | let out, euen of their superfluities they made melodious vse, for they had great winde instruments in stead of leaden spoutes, that went duly on consort, onely with this waters 20 rumbling discent. I sawe a summer banketting house belonging to a merchaunt, that was the meruaile of the world, & could not be matcht except God should make another paradise. It was builte round of greene marble like a Theater with-out: within there was a heauen and 25 earth comprehended both vnder one roofe; the heauen was a cleere ouerhanging vault of christall, wherein the Sunne and Moone and each visible Starre had his true similitude, shine, scituation, and motion, and, by what enwrapped arte I cannot conceiue, these spheares in their proper orbes 30 obserued their circular wheelinges and turnings, making a certaine kinde of soft angelical murmering musicke in their often windings & going about; which musick the philosophers say in the true heauen, by reason of the grosenes

2 robbing: Now *A*. 5 knnwen *B*. 7 citizen nor stranger *A*. 16 his] *A*: theyr *B*. 18 superflnities *B*. 19 leaden] *A*: laden *B*. 20 on] in *A*. 22 marchant *A*. 29 scituaton *B*.

of our senses, we are not capable of. For the earth, it was counterfeited in that liknes that Adam lorded out it before his fall. A wide vast spacious roome it was, such as we would conceit prince Arthurs hall to be, where he feasted 5 all his knights of the round table together euerie penticost. The flore was painted with the beautifullest flouers that euer mans eie admired; which so linealy were delineated that he that viewd them a farre off, and had not directly stood poaringly ouer them, would haue sworne they had 10 liued in deede. The wals round about were hedgde with Oliues and palme trees, and all other odoriferous fruit-bearing plants; which at anie solemne intertainment dropt mirrhe and frankensence. Other trees, that bare no fruit, were set in iust order one against another, & diuided the 15 roome into a number of shadie lanes, leauing but one ouer-spreading pine tree arbor, where wee sate and banketted. On the wel clothed boughs of this conspiracie of pine trees against the resembled Sun beames, were pearcht as many sortes of shrill breasted birdes as the Summer hath allowed 20 for singing men in hir siluane chappels. Who though there were bodies without soules, and sweete resembled substances without sense, yet by the mathemeticall experimentes of long siluer pipes secretlye inrinded in the intrailes of the boughs whereon they sate, and vndiscerneablie conuaid 25 vnder their bellies into their small throats sloaping, they whistled and freely carold theyr naturall field note. Ney-ther went those siluer pipes straight, but, by many edged vnsundred writhings & crankled wanderinges a side, strayed from bough to bough into an hundred throats. But into 30 this siluer pipe so writhed and wandering aside, if anie | demand how the wind was breathed; Forsoth ẏ tail of the H 3 siluer pipe stretcht it selfe into the mouth of a great paire of belowes, where it was close soldered, and bailde about with yron, it coulde not stirre or haue anie vent betwixt.

2 out it] it out *Gro.*: *Qy. read* ouer it? 15–6 ouer spreading *B.* 20 there] they *Gro.* 31 breathed. Forsoth *Q.* 33 a bout *B.* 34 yron, [that] it *Gro.*

Those bellowes with the rising and falling of leaden plummets wounde vp on a wheele, dyd beate vp and downe vncessantly, and so gathered in wind, seruing with one blast all the snarled pipes to and fro of one tree at once. But so closely were all those organizing implements ob- 5 scured in the corpulent trunks of the trees, that euerie man there present renounst coniectures of art, and sayd it was done by inchantment.

One tree for his fruit bare nothing but inchained chirping birdes, whose throates beeing conduit pipt with squared 10 narrowe shels, & charged siring-wise with searching sweet water driuen in by a little wheele for the nonce, that fed it a farre of, made a spirting sound, such as chirping is, in bubling vpwards through the rough crannies of their closed bills. 15

Vnder tuition of the shade of euerie tree that I haue signified to be in this round hedge, on delightful leuie cloisters, lay a wylde tyranous beast asleepe all prostrate; vnder some, two together, as the Dogge nusling his nose vnder the necke of the Deare, the Wolfe glad to let the 20 Lambe lye vpon hym to keepe him warme, the Lyon suffering the Asse to cast hys legge ouer him, preferring one honest vnmannerly friende before a number of croutching picke-thankes. No poysonous beast there reposed, (poyson was not before our parent *Adam* transgressed.) 25 There were no sweete-breathing Panthers that would hyde their terrifying heads to betray; no men-imitating *Hyænaes* that chaunged their sexe to seeke after bloud. Wolues as now when they are hungrie eate earth, so then did they feed on earth only, and abstained from innocent flesh. The 30 Vnicorne did not put his horne into the streame to chase awaye venome before hee dronke, for then there was no suche thing extant in the water or on the earth. Serpents were as harmlesse to mankinde as they are still one to another: the rose had no cankers, the leues no caterpillers, 35

9 chiriping *A.* 16 *New par. A. Run on in B.* 27 men imitating *Q.* 32 drunke *A.* then] *om. A.* 33 thing as venome extant *A.*

the sea no *Syrens*, the earth no vsurers. Goats then bare wooll, as it is recorded in *Sicily* they doo yet. The torride Zone was habitable: only Iayes loued to steale gold and siluer to build their nests withall, and none cared for
5 couetous clientrie, or runing to the Indies. As the Elephant vnderstands his countrey speach, so euerie beast vnderstood what man spoke. The ant did not hoord vp against winter, for there was no winter, but a perpetuall spring, as *Ouid* sayth. No frosts to make the greene almound tree coun-|ted H 3v
10 rash and improuident, in budding soonest of all other; or the mulberie tree a strange polititian, in blooming late and ripening early. The peach tree at the first planting was fruitfull and wholsome, whereas now, till it be transplanted, it is poisonous and hatefull: young plants for their sap had
15 balme, for their yeolow gumme glistering amber. The euening deawd not water on flowers, but honnie. Such a golden age, such a good age, such an honest age was set forth in this banketting house.

O *Rome*, if thou hast in thee such soul-exalting obiects,
20 what a thing is heauen in comparison of thee, of which *Mercators* globe is a perfecter modell than thou art? Yet this I must saie to the shame of vs protestants; if good workes may merite heauen, they doe them, we talke of them. Whether supersticion or no makes them vnprofitable
25 seruants, that let pulpits decide; but there you shall haue the brauest ladies, in gownes of beaten golde, washing pilgrimes & poore souldiers feete, and doing nothing, they and their waiting maides, all the yeare long, but making shirts and bands for them against they come by in distresse.
30 Their hospitals are more lyke noble mens houses than otherwise; so richly furnished, cleane kept, and hot perfumed, that a souldier would thinke it a sufficient recompence for all his trauell and his wounds, to haue such a heauenly retyring place. For the pope and his pontificalibus I will not deale

7 man] men *A*. 14 had] *A*: and *B*. 19 *New par. A. Run on in B.* soul exalting *B*. 20 thee? Of *B*. 21 art: yet *B*. 32 all] *om. A*.

with; onely I will dilate vnto you what happened whilest I was in *Rome*.

So it fel out that it being a vehement hot summer when I was a soiourner there, there entered such a hotspurd plague as hath not bin heard of: why, it was but a word 5 and a blowe, Lord haue mercie vpon vs, and he was gone. Within three quarters of a yeere in that one citie there died of it a hundred thousand; looke in *Lanquets* chronicle and you shall finde it. To smell of a nosegay that was poisond, and turne your nose to a house that had the plague, it was 10 all one. The clouds, like a number of cormorants that keepe their corne til it stinke and is mustie, kept in their stinking exhalations, till they had almost stifeled all *Romes* inhabitants. Phisitions greedines of golde made them greedie of their destinie. They would come to visit those 15 with whose infirmitie their art had no affinitie; and euen as a man with a fee should be hired to hang himselfe, so would they quietly go home and die presently after they had bin with their patients. All daye and all night long carre-men did nothing but go vp and downe the streets 20 with their carts and cry, Haue you anie dead bodies to bury? and had many times out of one house their whole H 4 loding: one | graue was the sepulchre of seuen score, one bed was the alter wheron whole families were offered.

The wals wer hoard and furd with the moist scorching 25 steame of their desolation. Euen as before a gun is shot off, a stinking smoake funnels out and prepares the way for him, so before any gaue vp the ghost, death araid in a stinking smoak stopt his nostrels and cramd it selfe ful into his mouth that closed vp his fellows eyes, to giue him 30 warning to prepare for his funeral. Some dide sitting at their meat, others as they were asking counsell of the phisition for theyr friends. I sawe at the house where I

1 whiles *A*. 5 been *A*. 16 infirmities *A*. 19 been *A*. 21–2 Haue . . . bury?] Haue you anie dead to burie, haue you anie dead to burie: *A*. 22 bury and *B*. 23 graue, *c.w.* 25 *New par. but not set in. A. Run on in B*, *Gro.* 29 selfe] *A*: *om. B*.

was hosted a maide bring her master warme broth for to comfort him, and shee sinke downe dead her selfe ere he had halfe eate it vp.

During this time of visitation, there was a Spaniard, one 5 *Esdras* of *Granado*, a notable Bandetto, authorised by the pope because he had assisted him in some murthers. This villain, colleagued with one *Bartol*, a desperate Italian, practised to breake into those riche mens houses in the night where the plague had most rained, and if there were 10 none but the mistres and maide left aliue, to rauish them both, & bring awaie all the wealth they could fasten on. In an hundred chiefe citizens houses where the hand of God had bene, they put this outrage in vre. Though the women so rauished cride out, none durst come neere them, for feare 15 of catching their deaths by them, and some thought they cried out onely with the tyrannie of the maladie. Amongst the rest, the house where I lay he inuaded, where al being snatcht vp by sicknes but the good wife of the house, a noble & chast matrone called *Heraclide*, and her zanie, and 20 I and my curtizan, hee, knocking at the doore late in the night, ranne in to the matrone, and left me and my loue to the mercie of his companion. Who finding me in bed (as the time requird) ranne at me ful with his rapier, thinking I would resist him, but, as good luck was, I escapt him and 25 betooke me to my pistoll in the window vncharged. He, fearing it had beene charged, threatned to runne her through if I once offered but to aime at him. Foorth the chamber hee dragde her, holding his rapier at her heart, whilest I cride out, Saue her, kill me, and Ile ransome her with a 30 thousande duckets: but lust preuailed, no prayers woulde be heard. Into my chamber I was lockte, and watchmen charged (as hee made semblaunce when there was none there) to knocke mee downe with theyr halberdes if I stirde but a foote downe the stayres. Then threw I my selfe pen-

6 had] *om. A.* 7 villain colleagued *Q.* 12 an] a *A.* 13 bin *A.* 18 by the sicknesse *A.* 19 *Zanie A.* 29 I stil crid *A.* 32 charged] *A* : *om. B.* 34 Then] So *A* : Tben *B.*

siue againe on my pallate, and darde all the deuiles in hell, nowe I was alone, to come and fight with mee one after H 4v another in defence of that detestable rape. I | beat my head against the wals & cald them bauds, because they would see such a wrong committed, and not fall vppon him. To 5 returne to *Heraclide* below, whom the vgliest of all bloud suckers, *Esdras* of *Granado*, had vnder shrift. First he assayled her with rough meanes, and slue hir *Zanie* at hir foote, that stept before hir in rescue. Then when all armed resist was put to flight, he assaied her with honie speech, & 10 promised her more iewells and giftes than hee was able to pilfer in an hundred yeres after. He discourst vnto her how he was countenanced and borne out by the pope, and how many execrable murthers with impunitie he had executed on them that displeasde him. This is the eight score house 15 (quoth he) that hath done homage vnto me, & here I will preuaile, or I will bee torne in pieces. Ah, quoth *Heraclide* (with a hart renting sigh), art thou ordaind to be a worse plague to me than ye plague it selfe? Haue I escapt the hands of God to fal into ye hands of man? Heare me, 20 *Iehouah*, & be merciful in ending my miserie. Dispatch me incontinent, dissolute homicide, deaths vsurper. Here lies my husband stone colde on the dewie floore. If thou beest of more power than God to strike me speedily, strike home, strike deepe, send me to heauen with my husband. 25 Aie me, it is the spoil of my honor thou seekest in my soules troubled departure; thou art some deuill sent to tempt me. Auoid from me, sathan, my soule is my sauiours; to him I haue bequeathed it, from him can no man take it. Iesu, Iesu, spare mee vndefiled for thy spouse; Iesu, Iesu, 30 neuer faile those that put their trust in thee. With that she fell in a sowne, and her eies in their closing seemed to spaune forth in their outward sharpe corners new created seed pearle, which the world before neuer set eie on. Soone he rigorously reuiued her, & tolde her yt he had a charter 35

3 beate *c.w.* 32 into a sowne *Gro.*

aboue scripture; she must yeld, she should yeld, see who
durst remoue her out of his hands. Twixt life and death
thus she faintly replied. How thinkest thou, is there a
power aboue thy power? if there be, he is here present in
5 punishment, and on thee will take present punishment if
thou persistest in thy enterprise. In the time of securitie
euerie man sinneth, but when death substitutes one
frend his special baily to arrest another by infection,
and dispearseth his quiuer into ten thousande hands at
10 once, who is it but lookes about him? A man that
hath an vneuitable huge stone hanging only by a haire
ouer his head, which he lokes, euerie Pater noster while,
to fall and pash him in peeces, will not he be submis-
siuely sorrowfull for his trans-gressions, refraine himselfe
15 from the least thought of folly, and purifie his spirit with
contrition and penitence? Gods hand like a huge stone
hangs ineui-|tably ouer thy head: what is the plague but I 1
death playing the Prouost Marshall, to execute all those
that will not be called home by anie other meanes? This
20 my dere knights bodie is a quiuer of his arrowes, which
alreadie are shot into thee inuisibly. Euen as the age of
goats is knowen by the knots on their hornes, so thinke the
anger of God apparantly visioned or showne vnto thee in
the knitting of my browes. A hundred haue I buried out
25 of my house, at all whose departures I haue been present:
a hundreds infection is mixed with my breath: loe, now
I breath vpon thee, a hundred deaths come vppon thee.
Repent betimes, imagine there is a hell though not a heauen:
that hell thy conscience is throughly acquainted with, if
30 thou hast murdred half so manie as thou vnblushingly
braggest. As *Mecœnas* in the latter end of his daies was
seuen yeres without sleepe, so these seuen weeks haue I
tooke no slumber, my eyes haue kept continuall watch
against the diuell, my enemie: death I deemed my frend
35 (frends flye from vs in aduersitie), death, the diuell, and all
the ministring spirits of temptation are watching about

1 she should yeld,] *A* : *om. B.* 21 inuisible *A.* 24 the] *A* : *om. B.*

thee to intrap thy soule (by my abuse) to eternall damnation. It is thy soule thou maist saue, onely by sauing mine honour. Death will haue thy bodie infallibly for breaking into my house, that he had selected for his priuate habitation. If thou euer camst of a woman, or hopest to be 5 saued by the seed of a woman, pittie a woman. Deares oppressed with dogges, when they cannot take soyle, run to men for succour: to whom should women in theyr disconsolate and desperate estate run but to Men (like the Deare) for succour and sanctuarie? If thou be a man, thou 10 wilt succour mee, but if thou be a dog and a brute beast, thou wilt spoile mee, defile mee, and teare me: either renounce Gods image, or renounce the wicked mind thou bearest.

These words might haue mooud a compound hart of 15 yron and adamant, but in his hart they obtained no impression: for he sitting in his chaire of state against the doore all the while that she pleaded, leaning his ouer-hanging gloomie ey-browes on the pommell of his vnsheathed sword, he neuer lookt vp or gaue hir a word: but when he 20 perceiued she expected his answer of grace or vtter perdition, he start vp and tooke her currishly by the neck, asking how long he should stay for hir Ladiship. Thou telst me (quoth he) of the plague, & the heauie hand of God, and thy hundred infected breaths in one: I tel thee I 25 haue cast the dice an hundred times for the gallies in *Spaine*, and yet still mist the ill chance. Our order of casting is this, If there be a Generall or Captaine new come home I 1v from the warres, & hath some 4. or 500. | crownes ouerplus of the Kings in his hand, and his soldiers all paid, he 30 makes proclamation that whatsoeuer two resolute men will goe to dice for it, and win the bridle or lose the saddle, to such a place let them repaire, and it shall be readie for them. Thither go I, and finde another such needie squire

2 thy soule only thou maist saue by *A*. 6 pittie] spare *A*. 13 minde that thou *A*. 23 asking] and askt her *A*. 29 foure or fiue hundred *A*.

resident. The dice run, I win, he is vndone. I winning haue the crownes, hee loosing is carried to the Galleyes. This is our custome, which a hundred times and more hath paid me custome of crownes, when the poore fellowes haue 5 gone to *Gehenna* had course bread and whipping chere al their life after. Now thinkest thou that I who so oft haue escaped such a number of hellish dangers, onely depending vppon the turning of a fewe prickes, can bee scare-bugd with the plague? what plague canst thou name worse than 10 I haue had? whether diseases, imprisonment, pouertie, banishment, I haue past through them all. My owne mother gaue I a boxe of the eare too, and brake her necke downe a paire of staires, because she would not goe in to a Gentleman when I bad her: my sister I sold to an old 15 Leno, to make his best of her: anie kinswoman that I haue, knew I she were not a whore, my selfe would make her one: thou art a whore, thou shalt be a whore, in spite of religion or precise ceremonies.

Therewith he flew vpon her, and threatned her with his 20 sword, but it was not that he meant to wound her with. He graspt her by the yuorie throat, and shooke her as a mastiffe would shake a yong beare, swearing and staring he would teare out her weasand if shee refused. Not content with that sauage constraint, he slipt his sacriligius hand 25 from her lilly lawne skinned necke, and inscarft it in her long siluer lockes, which with strugling were vnrould. Backward he dragd her, euen as a man backwarde would plucke a tree downe by the twigs, and then, like a traitor that is drawen to execution on a hurdle, he traileth her vp and 30 down the chamber by those tender vntwisted braids, and setting his barbarous foote on her bare snowy breast, bad her yeld or haue her winde stampt out. She cride, Stamp, stifle me in my haire, hang me vp by it on a beame, and so let me die, rather than I should goe to heauen with a 35 beame in my eye. No, quoth he, nor stampt, nor stifled,

5 *Gehenna*, had *Q*: *Gehenna*, [and] had *Gro*. 8 vppon] on *A*. 12 to *A*. 13 into *B*. 32 Stamp] stamp *Q*.

nor hanged, nor to heauen shalt thou go, till I haue had my wil of thee; thy busie armes in these silken fetters Ile infold. Dismissing her haire from his fingers, and pinnioning her elbowes therwithall, she strugled, she wrested, but all was in vaine. So strugling and so resisting, her iewels did 5 sweate, signifying there was poison cõming towards her. On the hard boords he threw her, and vsed his knee as an | I 2 yron ramme to beat ope the two leaud gate of her chastitie. Her husbands dead bodie he made a pillow to his abhomination. Coniecture the rest, my words sticke fast in the 10 myre and are cleane tyred; would I had neuer vndertooke this tragicall tale. Whatsoeuer is borne, is borne to haue an end. Thus ends my tale: his whorish lust was glutted, his beastly desire satisfied; what in the house of anie worth was carriageable, he put vp, and went his way. 15

Let not your sorrow die, you that haue read the proeme and narration of this eligiacall historie. Shew you haue quick wits in sharp conceipt of compassion. A woman that hath viewed all her children sacrificed before her eyes, & after the first was slaine, wyped the sword with her apron 20 to prepare it for the cleanly murther of the second, and so on forward till it came to the empiercing of the seuenteenth of her loynes, will you not giue her great allowance of anguish? This woman, this matrone, this forsaken *Heraclide*, hauing buried fourteene children in fiue daies, whose 25 eyes she howlingly closed, & caught manie wrinckles with funerall kisses; besides hauing her husband within a day after laid forth as a comfortles corse, a carrionly blocke, that could neither eate with her, speak with her, nor weepe with her; is she not to bee borne withall though her body 30 swell with a Timpany of teares, thogh her speech be as impatient as vnhappie *Hecubas*, thogh her head raues and her braine doate? Deuise with your selues that you see a corse

8 leavd *B.* 13 an] *om. A.* endeth *A.* tale, his *Q.* whorish] boorish *A.* 14 satisfied, what *A*: satisfied: what *B.* 17 and] *A*: of the *B.* 22 it] *om. A*: [it] *Gro.* come *B.* 27 kisses: besides, hauing *Q.* 31 swells *A.* 32 *Qy. read* raue? 33 doates *A.*

rising from his hierce after he is caried to church, & such another suppose *Heraclide* to be, rising from the couch of enforced adulterie.

Her eies wer dim, her cheeks bloodles, her breath 5 smelt earthy, her countnance was gastly. Vp she rose after she was deflowred, but loath she arose, as a reprobate soule rising to the day of iudgement. Looking on the tone side as she rose, she spide her husbands bodie lying vnder her head: ah, then she bewailed, as *Cephalus* when he had kild 10 *Procris* vnwittingly, or *Oedipus* when ignorantly he had slaine his father, & known his mother incestuously: this was her subdued resons discourse.

Haue I liud to make my husbands bodie the beere to carrie mee to hell? had filthy pleasure no other pillow to 15 leane vpon but his spredded lims? On thy flesh my fault shall be imprinted at the day of resurrection. O beautie, the bait ordained to insnare the irreligious: rich men are robd for their welth, women are dishonested for being too fair. No blessing is beautie, but a curse: curst be the 20 time that euer I was begotten; curst be the time that my Mother brought mee foorth to tempt. The serpent in paradice did no more; the serpent in paradice | is damned I 2v sempiternally: why should not I hold my selfe damned (if predestinations opinions be true) that am predestinate to 25 this horrible abuse? The hog dieth presently if he looseth an eye: with the hog haue I wallowed in the myre, I haue lost my eye of honestie, it is cleane pluckt out with a strong hand of vnchastitie: what remaineth but I dye? Die I will, though life be vnwilling: no recompence is there for me 30 to redeeme my compelled offence, but with a rigorous compelled death. Husband, Ile bee thy wife in Heauen: let not thy pure deceased spirit despise me when we meet, because I am tyranously polluted. The diuell, the belier of our frailtie, and common accuser of mankinde, cannot accuse 35 mee, though hee would, of vnconstrained submitting. If anie

1 rssing *B*. 10 ignorant *A*. 11 his owne father *A*. incestuously. This *A*. 13 livd *B*. 22 in paradtce | is *B*. 32 deceasing *A*.

guilt be mine, this is my fault, that I did not deforme my face, ere it should so impiouslie allure. Hauing passioned thus awhile, she hastely ran and lookt hir selfe in hir glasse, to see if her sin were not written on her forhead: with looking shee blusht, though none lookt vpon her but her 5 owne reflected image.

Then began she againe. *Heu quam difficile est crimen non prodere vultu;* How hard is it not to bewray a mans falt by his forhead. My selfe doo but behold my selfe, and yet I blush: then, God beholding me, shall not I be ten 10 times more ashamed? The Angels shall hisse at me, the Saints and Martyrs flye from me: yea, God himselfe shall adde to the diuels damnation, because he suffered such a wicked creature to come before him. *Agamemnon*, thou wert an infidell, yet when thou wentst to the *Troian* warre, 15 thou leftst a musitian at home with thy Wife, who by playing the foote *Spondæus* till thy retourne, might keepe her in chastitie. My husband going to warre with the diuell and his enticements, when hee surrendred, left no musition with me, but mourning and melancholy: had he 20 left anie, as *Ægistus* kild *Agamemnons* Musitian ere he could be succesfull, so surely would hee haue been kild ere this *Ægistus* surceased. My distressed heart, as the Hart when as hee looseth his hornes is astonied, and sorrowfullie runneth to hide himselfe, so be thou afflicted and distressed; 25 hide thy selfe vnder the Almighties wings of mercie: sue, plead, intreate; grace is neuer denied to them that aske. It may be denied; I maie be a vessell ordained to dishonor.

The onely repeale we haue from Gods vndefinite chas- 30 tisement is to chastise our selues in this world: and I will; nought but death be my pennance, gracious and acceptable maie it be: my hand and my knife shall manumit mee out I 3 of the horrour of minde I endure. Fare-well, life, that hast lent me nothing but sorrowe. Fare-well, | sinne-sowed flesh, 35 that hast more weedes than flowers, more woes than ioies.

23–4 when he *A.* 29 *Run on in A.* 31 and so I will *A.*

Point, pierce, edge, enwiden, I patiently affoorde thee a sheath: spurre forth my soule to mount poste to heauen. Iesu, forgiue me, Iesu, receiue me.

So (throughlie stabd) fell she downe, and knockt her
5 head against her husbands bodie: wherwith he, not hauing been aired his ful foure and twentie howres, start as out of a dreame: whiles I, thorough a crannie of my vpper chamber vnseeled, had beheld all this sad spectacle. Awaking, he rubbed his head too and fro, and wyping his eyes with his
10 hand, began to looke about him. Feeling some thing lie heauie on his breast he turned it off, and getting vpon his legs, lighted a candle.

Here beginneth my purgatorie. For hee, good man, comming into the hall with the candle, and spying his wife
15 with hir haire about hir eares, defiled and massacred, and his simple Zanie *Capestrano* runne through, tooke a halberd in his hand, and running from chamber to chamber to serch who in his house was likelie to doo it, at length found me lying on my bed, the doore lockt to me on the out-side, and
20 my rapier vnsheathed in the window: wherewith he straight coniectured it was I, and calling the neighbours hard by, said I had caused my self to be lockt into my chamber after that sort, sent away my Curtizane whom I called my wife, and made clean my rapier, because I would not be sus-
25 pected.

Vppon this was I laide in prison, should haue been hanged, was brought to the ladder, had made a Ballad for my Farewell in a readines, called *Wiltons wantonnes*, and yet for all that scapde dauncing in a hempen circle. He
30 that hath gone through many perils and returned safe from them, makes but a merriment to dilate them. I had the knot vnder my eare, there was faire plaie, the hangman had one halter, another about my necke was fastned to the gallowes, the riding deuice was almost thrust home, and his

1 Point . . .] *New par. but not set in. A.* 7 through *A.* 16 thorough *A.* 20 in] on *A.* 21 I. And *Q.* 23 a way *B.* 26 *Run on in A.* 27 ballet *A.* 33 halter, and another *A.* necke, which was *A.*

foote on my shoulder to presse me downe, when I made my saint-like confession as you haue heard before, that such and such men at such an howre brake into the house, slew the Zanie, took my Curtizan, lockt me into my chamber, rauisht *Heraclide*, and finallie how she slew her selfe. 5

Present at the execution was there a banisht English Earle, who hearing that a Countrey-man of his was to suffer for such a notable murder, came to heare his confession, and see if he knew him. He had not heard me tell halfe of that I haue recited but he craued audience, and desired the 10 execution might be staid. |

I 3v Not two daies since it is, Gentlemen and noble *Romanes*, (said he,) since, going to be let blood in a Barbars shop against the infection, all on sodaine in a great tumult and vproare was there brought in one *Bartoll*, an *Italian*, gree- 15 uously wounded and bloodie. I, seeming to commiserate his harmes, curteously questiond him with what ill debters he had met, or how or by what casualtie he came to bee so arraid. O, (quoth he,) long haue I liued sworne brothers in sensualitie with one *Esdras* of *Granado*: fiue hundred rapes 20 and murders haue we committed betwixt vs. When our iniquities were growen to the height, and God had determined to counterchecke our amitie, we came to the house of *Iohannes de Imola* (whom this yong Gentleman hath named); there did he iustifie all those rapes in manner and 25 forme as the prisoner here hath confest. But loe, an accident after, which neyther he nor this audience is priuie too. *Esdras* of *Granado*, not content to haue rauisht the Matrone *Heraclide* and robd her, after he had betook him from thence to his heeles, lighted on his companion *Bartol* with his Cur- 30 tizan: whose pleasing face he had scarce winkingly glanst on, but he pickt a quarrell with *Bartoll* to haue her from him. On thys quarrell they fought, *Bartoll* was wounded to the death, *Esdras* fled, and the faire dame left to go

6 *New par. but not set in. A.* 14 on a suddaine *A.* 15 greeudusly (*broken* d) *B.* 19 haue I] I haue *A.* 30 light *A.* 34 deafh *B.*

whether she would. This, *Bartoll* in the Barbars shop freely acknowledged, as both the Barbar and his man and other here present can amplie depose.

Deposed they were; their oaths went for currant; I was
5 quit by proclamation: to the banisht Earle I came to render thankes, when thus he examined and schoold me.

Countriman, tell me, what is the occasion of thy straying so farre out of *England* to visit this strange Nation? If it bee languages, thou maist learne them at home; nought but
10 lasciuiousnesse is to bee learned here. Perhaps, to be better accounted of than other of thy condition, thou ambitiously vndertakest this voyage: these insolent fancies are but *Icarus* feathers, whose wanton waxe, melted against the Sunne, will betray thee into a sea of confusion.

15 The first traueller was *Cain*, and he was called a vagabond runnagate on the face of the earth. Trauaile (like the trauaile wherein smithes put wilde horses when they shoo them) is good for nothing but to tame and bring men vnder.

God had no greater curse to lay vpon the *Israelites*,
20 than by leading them out of their owne countrey to liue as slaues in a strange land. That which was their curse, we Englishmen count our chiefe blessednes; hee is no bodie that hath not traueld: wee had rather liue as | slaues in an- I 4 other land, croutch and cap, and be seruile to euerie ielous
25 Italians and proud Spaniards humor, where we may neither speak, looke, nor doo anie thing, but what pleaseth them, than liue as freemen and Lords in our owne Countrey.

He that is a traueller must haue the backe of an asse to beare all, a tung like the taile of a dog to flatter all, the
30 mouth of a hogge to eate what is set before him, the eare of a merchant to heare all and say nothing: and if this be not the highest step of thraldome, there is no libertie or freedome.

It is but a milde kinde of subiection to be the seruant of
35 one master at once: but when thou hast a thousand thou-

1 whither *A*. 4 *Run on in A*. 6 examind me and *A*. 15 *Run on in A*. 19 *Run on in A*. 28 *Run on in A*. 34 *Run on in A*.

sand masters, as the veriest botcher, tinker, or cobler free-borne will dominere ouer a forreiner, and thinke to bee his better or master in companie; then shalt thou finde there is no such hell as to leaue thy fathers house (thy naturall habitation) to liue in the land of bondage. 5

If thou doost but lend half a looke to a *Romans* or *Italians* wife, thy porredge shalbe prepared for thee, and cost thee nothing but thy lyfe. Chance some of them breake a bitter iest on thee, and thou retortst it seuerely, or seemest discontented: goe to thy chamber, and prouide 10 a great banket, for thou shalt be sure to be visited with guests in a mask the next night, when in kindnes and courtship thy throat shall be cut, and the dooers returne vndiscouered. Nothing so long of memorie as a dog; these *Italians* are old dogs, & will carrie an iniurie a whole age 15 in memorie: I haue heard of a boxe on the eare that hath been reuenged thirtie yeare after. The *Neapolitane* carrieth the bloodiest mind, and is the most secret fleering murdrer: whereupon it is growen to a common prouerbe, *Ile giue him the Neapolitan shrug*, when one intends to play 20 the villaine and make no boast of it.

The onely precept that a traueller hath most vse of, and shall finde most ease in, is that of *Epicharchus*, *Vigila, & memor sis ne quid credas*: Beleeue nothing, trust no man; yet seeme thou as thou swallowedst al, suspectedst none, but 25 wert easie to be gulled by euerie one. *Multi fallere docuerunt* (as *Seneca* saith) *dum timent falli*: Manie by showing their ielous suspect of deceit haue made men seek more subtill meanes to deceiue them.

Alas, our Englishmen are the plainest dealing soules that 30 euer God put life in: they are greedie of newes, and loue to bee fed in their humors and heare themselues flattred the best that may be. Euen as *Philemon*, a Comick Poet, died

3-4 there is] theres *A*. 6 *Run on in A*. 7 shall bee *A*. 11 banquet *A*. 13 shalbe *A*. 18 bloudiest wreakfull minde *A*. 18-9 murderer. Whereupon *A*. 20 intends] meanes *A*. 21 makes *A*. 30 *Run on in A*.

with extreme laughter at the conceit of seeing an asse eate figs; so haue the *Italians* no such sport as to see | poore I 4v English asses, how soberlie they swallow Spanish figges, deuoure anie hooke baited for them. He is not fit to trauell, 5 that cannot, with the *Candians*, liue on serpents, make nourishing food euen of poison. Rats and mice ingender by licking one another; he must licke, he must croutch, he must cog, lye, and prate, that either in the Court or a forren Countrey will ingender and come to preferment. Be 10 his feature what it will, if he be faire spoken he winneth frends: *Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Vlysses: Vlysses*, the long Traueller, was not amiable, but eloquent. Some alledge they trauell to learne wit, but I am of this opinion, that as it is not possible for anie man to learne 15 the Art of Memorie, whereof *Tully*, *Quintillian*, *Seneca*, and *Hermannus Buschius* haue written so manie Bookes, except hee haue a naturall memorie before: so is it not possible for anie man to attain anie great wit by trauell, except he haue the grounds of it rooted in him before. 20 That wit which is thereby to be perfected or made staid, is nothing but *Experientia longa malorum*, the experience of manie euils: The experience that such a man lost his life by this folly, another by that: such a yong Gallant consumed his substaunce on such a Curtizan: these courses of 25 reuenge a Merchant of *Venice* tooke against a Merchant of *Ferrara*; and this poynt of iustice was shewed by the Duke vpon the murtherer. What is here but we may read in bookes, and a great deale more too, without stirring our feete out of a warme Studie?

30 *Vobis alii ventorum prælia narrent*, (saith *Ouid*,)
Quasque Scilla infestat, quasue Charybdis aquas.
Let others tell you wonders of the winde,
How *Scilla* or *Charybdis* is inclinde.
-*vos quod quisque loquetur*
35 *Credite.* Beleeue you what they say, but neuer trie.

17 it] *om. A*: [it] *Gro.*, *Gosse.* 35 *Credite-* Beleeue *A.*

So let others tell you strange accidents, treasons, poysonings, close packings in *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italy*: it is no harme for you to heare of them, but come not nere them.

What is there in *Fraunce* to bee learned more than in 5 *England*, but falshood in fellowship, perfect slouenrie, to loue no man but for my pleasure, to sweare *Ah par la mort Dieu*, when a mans hammes are scabd. For the idle Traueller, (I meane not for the Souldiour,) I haue knowen some that haue continued there by the space of halfe a 10 dozzen yeares, and when they come home, they haue hid K 1 a little wee-|rish leane face vnder a broad French hat, kept a terrible coyle with the dust in the streete in their long cloakes of gray paper, and spoke English strangely. Nought els haue they profited by their trauell, saue learnt 15 to distinguish of the true *Burdeaux* Grape, and knowe a cup of neate *Gascoigne* wine from wine of *Orleance*: yea, and peraduenture this also, to esteeme of the pox as a pimple, to weare a veluet patch on their face, and walke melancholy with their Armes folded. 20

From *Spaine* what bringeth our Traueller? a scull crownd hat of the fashion of an olde deepe porringer, a diminutiue Aldermans ruffe with short strings like the droppings of a mans nose, a close-bellied dublet comming downe with a peake behinde as farre as the crupper, and 25 cut off before by the brest-bone like a partlet or neckercher, a wide paire of gascoynes which vngatherd wold make a couple of womens ryding kirtles, huge hangers that haue half a cow hide in them, a rapier that is lineally descended from halfe a dozen Dukes at the least. Let his cloake be 30 as long or as short as you will: if long, it is faced with Turkey grogeran raueld; if short, it hath a cape like a Calues tung, and is not so deepe in his whole length, nor hath so much cloath in it, I will iustifie, as only the standing cape of a Dutchmans cloke. I haue not yet tutcht all, 35

1 *New par. A.* 5 *Run on in A.* 11 yeare *A.* 14 spoke] *A*: speake *B.*

for he hath in either shoo as much taffatie for his tyings as wold serue for an ancient; which serueth him (if you wil haue the mysterie of it) of the owne accord for a shoo-rag. A soldier & a braggart he is (thats concluded); he ietteth
5 strouting, dancing on hys toes with his hands vnder his sides. If you talk with him, he makes a dishcloth of his owne Country in comparison of *Spaine*, but if you vrge him more particularly wherin it exceeds, he can giue no instance but in *Spaine* they haue better bread than any we
10 haue; when (pore hungrie slaues) they may crumble it into water well inough, & make mizers with it, for they haue not a good morsell of meate except it be salt piltchers to eat with it all the yere long: and, which is more, they are poore beggers, and lye in fowle straw euerie night.

15 *Italy*, the Paradice of the earth and the Epicures heauen, how doth it forme our yong master? It makes him to kis his hand like an ape, cringe his necke like a starueling, and play at hey passe repasse come aloft, when he salutes a man. From thence he brings the art of atheisme, the art
20 of epicurising, the art of whoring, the art of poysoning, the art of Sodomitrie. The onely probable good thing they haue to keepe vs from vtterly condemning it is that it maketh a man an excellent Courtier, a curious carpet knight: which is, by in-|terpretation, a fine close leacher, K 1v
25 a glorious hipocrite. It is nowe a priuie note amongst the better sort of men, when they would set a singular marke or brand on a notorious villaine, to say, he hath beene in *Italy*.

With the Dane and the Dutchman I will not encounter, for
30 they are simple honest men, that, with *Danaus* Daughters, doe nothing but fill bottomeles tubs, & will be drunke & snort in the midst of dinner: he hurts himselfe only that goes thither, he cannot lightly be damnd, for the vintners, the brewers, the malt-men, and alewiues pray for him.
35 Pitch and pay, they will pray all day: score & borrow, they

7 Conntry *B.* 11 mizers] misons *A.* 15 *Run on in Gro.*
24 interpretationa, fine *B.* 33 thether *A.*

will wish him much sorrow. But lightly a man is nere the better for their prayers, for they commit all deadly sin for the most part of them in mingling their drinke, the vintners in the highest degree.

Why iest I in such a necessarie perswasiue discourse? 5 I am a banisht exile from my country, though nere linkt in consanguinitie to the best: an Earle borne by birth, but a begger now as thou seest. These manie yeres in *Italy* haue I liued an outlaw. A while I had a liberall pension of the Pope, but that lasted not, for he continued not: one 10 succeeded him in his chaire that cared neither for Englishmen nor his owne countrimen. Then was I driuen to pick vp my crums among the Cardinals, to implore the beneuolence & charitie of al the Dukes of *Italy*, whereby I haue since made a poore shift to liue, but so liue as I wish my 15 selfe a thousand times dead.

Cum patriam amisi, tunc me periisse putato:
When I was banisht, thinke I caught my bane.

The sea is the natiue soile to fishes; take fishes from the sea, they take no ioy, nor thriue, but perish straight. 20 So likewise the birds remooued from the aire (the abode wheretoo they were borne), the beasts from the earth, and I from *England*. Can a lamb take delight to be suckled at the breasts of a she wolfe? I am a lamb nourisht with the milke of wolues, one that, with the *Ethiopians* inhabit- 25 ing ouer against *Meroe*, feed on nothing but scorpions: vse is another nature, yet ten times more contentiue were nature, restored to her kingdom from whence she is excluded. Beleeue me, no aire, no bread, no fire, no water doth a man anie good out of his owne countrey. Cold 30 frutes neuer prosper in a hot soyle, nor hot in a cold. Let no man for anie transitorie pleasure sell away the inheritance he hath of breathing in the place where hee was

7 consanguitie *B.* 13 amongst *A.* 19 *New par. Gro.* 27–8 contentiue, were nature restored *A*: contentiue were . . . *B.* 30 doth a man] agree with a man, or dooth him *A.* 33 he hath of breathing] of breathing he hath *A.*

borne. Get thee home, my yong lad, laye thy bones peaceably in | the sepulcher of thy fathers, waxe olde in K 2 ouerlooking thy grounds, be at hand to close the eyes of thy kinred. The diuel and I am desperate, he of being 5 restored to heauen, I of being recalled home.

Here he held his peace and wept. I, glad of any opportunitie of a full poynt to part from him, tolde him I tooke his counsaile in worth; what lay in mee to requite in loue should not bee lacking. Some businesse that concerned me 10 highly cald mee away very hastely, but another time I hop'd we should meete. Verie hardly he let me goe, but I earnestly ouerpleading my occasions, at length he dismist mee, tolde mee where his lodging was, and charged mee to visite him without excuse verie often.

15 Heeres a stir, thought I to my selfe after I was set at libertie, that is worse than an vpbraiding lesson after a britching: certainely if I had bethought me like a rascall as I was, he should haue had an Auemarie of me for his cynike exhortation. God plagud me for deriding such a 20 graue fatherly aduertiser. List the worst throw of ill luckes. Tracing vppe and downe the Cittie to seeke my Curtizan till the Euening began to grow verie well in age, it thus fortuned: the Element, as if it had drunke too much in the afternoone, powrde downe so profoundly, that I was forst 25 to creep like one afraid of the watch close vnder the pentises, where the cellar doore of a Iewes house caled *Zadoch* (ouer which in my direct way I did passe) being vnbard on the in-side, ouer head and eares I fell into it, as a man falls in a shippe from the oreloope into the hold, or 30 as in an earth-quake the ground should open, and a blinde man come feeling pad pad ouer the open Gulph with his staffe, should tumble on a sodaine into hell. Hauing worne out the anguish of my fal a little with wallowing vp & downe, I cast vp myne eyes to see vnder what Continent

4 am] are *Gro.* 9 lackiug *B.* 12 ouer pleading *B.* 22 verie] *om. A.* thus] *om. A.* 23 fortuned, the *Q.* dronke *A.* 32 tumble] stumble *A.* on sodaine *A.*

I was: and loe, (O destenie,) I saw my Curtizane kissing very louingly with a prentise.

My backe and my sides I had hurt with my fall, but nowe my head sweld and akt worse than both. I was euen gathering winde to come vppon her with a full blast of 5 contumelie, when the Iewe (awakde with the noyse of my fall) came hastely busteling downe the staires, and, raysing his other tenaunts, attached both the Curtizane and me for breaking his house, and conspiring with his prentise to rob him. 10

It was then the law in *Rome*, that if anie man had a fellon falne into his hands, either by breaking into his house, or robbing him by the high way, he might chuse whether he would make him his bond-man, or hang him. K 2v *Zadoch*, (as all Iewes are couetous,) casting with | himselfe 15 he should haue no benefit by casting me off the Ladder, had another pollicie in his heade: he went to one Doctor *Zacharie*, the Popes Phisition, that was a Iew and his Countrey-man likewise, and told him he had the finest bargaine for him that might be. It is not concealed from 20 me (saith he) that the time of your accustomed yearely Anatomie is at hand, which it behooues you vnder forfeiture of the foundation of your Colledge very carefully to prouide for. The infection is great, & hardly will you get a sound body to deal vpon: you are my Countryman, 25 therefore I come to you first. Be it knowen vnto you, I haue a yong man at home falne to me for my bond-man, of the age of eighteene, of stature tall, straight limd, of as cleare a complection as any Painters fancie can imagine: goe too, you are an honest man, and one of the scattred 30 children of *Abraham*; you shall haue him for fiue hundred crownes. Let me se him, quoth Doctor *Zacharie*, and I will giue you as much as another. Home he sent for me; pinniond and shackeld I was transported alongst the streete: where passing vnder *Iulianaes*, the Marques of *Mantuaes* 35 wiues, window, that was a lustie *Bona Roba*, one of the

3 *Run on in A.* 7 hastely] *om. A.* 8 tenaunts] seruants *A.*

Popes concubines, as shee had her casement halfe open, shee lookt out and spide me. At the first sight she was enamoured with my age and beardles face, that had in it no ill signe of phisiognomie fatall to fetters: after me she sent 5 to know what I was, wherein I had offended, and whether I was going? My conducts resolued them all. Shee hauing receiued this answer, with a lustfull collachrimation lamenting my Iewish Premunire, that bodie and goods I should light into the hands of such a cursed generation, 10 inuented the means of my release.

But first Ile tell you what betided mee after I was brought to Doctor *Zacharies*. The purblind Doctor put on his spectacles and lookt vpon me: and when he had throughly viewd my face, he caused me to be stript naked, 15 to feele and grope whether each lim wer sound & my skin not infected. Then he pierst my arme to see how my blood ran: which assayes and searchings ended, he gaue *Zadoch* his full price and sent him away; then lockt me vp in a darke chamber till the day of anatomie.

20 O, the colde sweating cares which I conceiued after I knewe I should be cut like a French summer dublet. Me thought already the blood began to gush out at my nose: if a flea on the arme had but bit me, I deemed the instrument had prickt me. Wel, well, I may scoffe at a 25 shrowd turne, but theres no such readie way to make a man a true Christian, as to perswade himselfe he is taken vp for an anato-|mie. Ile depose I praid then more than I K 3 did in seuen yeare before. Not a drop of sweate trickled downe my breast and my sides, but I dreamt it was a 30 smooth edgd razer tenderly slicing downe my breast and sides. If anie knockt at doore, I supposd it was the Bedle of surgeons hal come for me. In the night I dreamd of nothing but phlebotomie, bloudie fluxes, incarnatiues, running vlcers. I durst not let out a wheale, for feare through 35 it I should bleede to death. For meat in this distance I had plumporredge of purgations ministred me one after

6 goiug *B*. 29 dreamd *A*. 30–1 and my sides *A*.

another to clarifie my blood, that it should not lye clod-
dered in the flesh. Nor did he it so much for clarifying
Phisicke, as to saue charges. Miserable is that Mouse that
liues in a Phisitions house; *Tantalus* liues not so hunger
staraued in hell, as she doth there. Not the verie crum's that 5
fall from his table, but *Zacharie* sweepes together, and of
them moulds vp a Manna. Of the ashie parings of his
bread, he would make conserue of chippings. Out of bones,
after the meate was eaten off, hee would alchumize an oyle,
that hee sold for a shilling a dram. His snot and spittle 10
a hundred times hee hath put ouer to his Apothecarie for
snow water. Anie spider hee would temper to perfect
Mithridate. His rumaticke eies when hee went in the
winde, or rose early in a morning, dropt as coole allome
water as you would request. He was dame Niggardize 15
sole heire & executor. A number of old books had he,
eaten with the moaths and wormes: now all day would
not he studie a dodkin, but picke those wormes and moaths
out of his Librarie, and of their mixture make a preserua-
tiue against the plague. The licour out of his shooes hee 20
would wring, to make a sacred Balsamum against barrennes.

Spare we him a line or two, and looke backe to *Iuliana*,
who, conflicted in her thoughts about me very doubtfully,
aduentured to send a messenger to Doctor Zachary in hir
name, verie boldly to beg mee of him, and if she might not 25
beg me, to buy me with what summes of money soeuer hee
would aske. *Zacharie* Iewishly and churlishlie denied both
her sutes, and said if there were no more Christians on the
earth, he would thrust his incision knife into his throate-
bowle immediatly. Which replie she taking at his hands 30
most despitefully, thoght to crosse him ouer the shins with
as sore an ouerwhart blow ere a month to an end. The
Pope (I know not whether at her entreatie or no) within
two daies after fell sick; Doctor *Zacharie* was sent for to

16 A number . . .] *New par. A.* 20 The licour . . .] *New par. but not set in. A. Run on in Gro., Gosse.* 22 *Run on in A.* 23 doubtfully] debatefully *A.* 27 denied] withstood *A.* 32 blow yet ere *A.* moneth *A.*

minister vnto him, who, seeing a little danger in his water, gaue him a gentle comfortiue for the stomack, and desired those nere about him to perswade his holines to take some rest, & he doub-|ted not but he would be forthwith K 3v
5 well. Who should receiue thys milde phisicke of him but the concubine *Iuliana*, his vtter enemie? she, being not vn-prouided of strong poyson at that instant, in the Popes outward chamber so mingled it, that when his Grand-sublimity-taster came to relish it, he sunke downe stark
10 dead on the pauement. Herewith the Pope cald *Iuliana*, and askt her what strong concocted broath she had brought him. She kneeled downe on her knees, & said it was such as *Zacharie* the Iew had deliuered her with hys owne hands, and therfore if it misliked his holines she craued
15 pardon. The Pope, without further sifting into the matter, would haue had *Zacharie* and all the Iewes in *Rome* put to death, but she hung about his knees, and with Crocodile tears desired him the sentence might be lenefied, and they be all but banisht at the most. For Doctor *Zacharie*, quoth
20 she, your ten-times vngratefull Phisition, since notwithstand-ing his trecherous intent, he hath much Arte, and manie souereigne simples, oyles, gargarismes, and sirups in his closet and house that may stand your Mightines in stead, I begge all his goods onely for your Beatitudes preseruation
25 and good. This request at the first was sealed with a kisse, and the Popes edict without delaye proclaimed throughout *Rome*, namely, that all fore-skinne clippers, whether male or female, belonging to the old Iurie, should depart and auoid vpon pain of hanging, within twentie daies after the
30 date thereof.

Iuliana (two daies before the proclamation came out) sent her seruants to extend vpon *Zacharies* territories, his goods, his mooueables, his chattels, and his seruants: who per-formed their commission to the vtmost title, and left him not
35 so much as master of an old vrinall case or a candle-boxe. It was about sixe a clocke in the euening when those boot-

2 confortatiue *A*. 16 all Iewes *A*. 19 at most *A*. 35 old] *om*. *A*.

halers entred: into my chamber they rusht, when I sate leaning on my elbow, and my left hand vnder my side, deuising what a kinde of death it might be, to bee let blood till a man die. I cald to minde the assertion of some philosophers, who said the soule was nothing but blood: then thought 5 I, what a thing were this, if I should let my soule fall and breake his necke into a bason. I had but a pimple rose with heate in that parte of the veyne where they vse to pricke, and I fearfully misdeemed it was my soule searching for passage. Fie vpon it, a mans breath to bee let out at a 10 backe doore, what a villanie it is! To die bleeding is all one as if a man should die pissing. Good drinke makes good blood, so that pisse is nothing but blood vnder age. K 4 *Seneca* and *Lucan* were lobcockes to | choose that death of all other: a pig or a hog or any edible brute beast a cooke or 15 a butcher deales vpon dies bleeding. To die with a pricke, wherewith the faintest hearted woman vnder heauen would not be kild; O God, it is infamous.

In this meditation did they seaze vpon me, in my cloke they muffeld me, that no man might know me, nor I see 20 which way I was carried. The first ground I toucht after I was out of *Zacharyes* house was the Countesse *Iulianas* chamber: little did I surmise that fortune reserued me to so faire a death. I made no other reckoning all the while they had me on their sholders, but that I was on hors- 25 backe to heauen, and carried to Church on a beere, excluded for euer for drinking any more ale or beer. *Iuliana* scornfully questiond them thus (as if I had falne into her hands beyond expectation): what proper apple squire is this you bring so suspitiously into my chamber? what hath he done? 30 or where had you him? They answered likewise a far off, that in one of *Zacharies* chambers they found him close prisoner, and thought themselues guiltie of the breach of her Ladiships commaundement if they should haue left him. O, quoth shee, yee loue to be double diligent, or thought 35

6 a filthie thing *A*. 8 of] *A*: if *B*. 10 at] *om. A*. 17 faintest hearted] *A*: fainted hartedst *B*. 27 *Qy. read* from drinking? 34 him behinde. *A*.

peraduenture that I, beeing a lone woman, stood in need of a loue. Bring you me a princoks beardlesse boy (I know not whence he is, nor whether he would) to call my name in suspense? I tell you, you haue abused mee, and I can 5 hardly brooke it at your hands. You should haue lead him to the magistrate; no commission receiued you of mee but for his goods & his seruants. They besought her to excuse their error, proceeding of dutious zeale, no negligent defalt. But why should not I coniecture the worst? quoth 10 she. I tell you troth, I am halfe in a ielozie he is some fantasticke yonkster, who hath hyrde you to dishonor me. It is a likely matter that such a man as *Zacharie* should make a prison of his house. By your leaue, sir gallant, vnder locke and key shall you stay with me, till I haue 15 enquirde farther of you; you shall be sifted throughly ere you and I part. Go, maid, shewe him to the farther chamber at the end of the gallerie that lookes into the garden: you, my trim pandors, I pray gard him thether as you tooke paines to bring him hether: when you haue so 20 done, see the dores be made fast, and come your way. Heere was a wily wench had her liripoop without book, she was not to seeke in her knackes and shifts: such are all women, each of them hath a cloke for the raine, and can bleare her husbands eies as she list. Not too much of 25 this Madam Marques at once; let me dilate a little what *Zadoch* did with my curtizan, after he had sold me to *Zacharie*. Of an ill tree I hope you are not so ill | sighted K 4v in grafting to expect good fruite: hee was a Iew, and intreated her like a Iew. Vnder shadow of enforcing her 30 to tell how much money she had of his prentice so to be trayned to his cellar, hee stript her, and scourged her from

1 peradueuture *B*. 3 uot *B*. 8–9 their . . . defalt.] their ouerweening errour, it proceeded from a zealous care of their duetie, and no negligent default. *A*. 11 fantasticke . . . me.] fantasticall amorous yonckster, who to dishonor me hath hyr'd you to this stratagem. *A*. 13 house.] house, and deale in matters of state. *A*. 15 further *A*. thoroughly *A*. 16 further *A*. 21–2 Heere . . . shifts:] *A*: Here is a wench had hir liripoop: *B*. 23 each of them] not one of them but *A*. 25 let me dilate a little] wele step a little backe, and dilate *A*. 26 *Zadoch* the Iew did *A*. 28 graffing *A*.

top to toe tantara. Day by day he disgested his meate with leading her the measures. A diamond Delphinicall drie leachour it was.

The ballet of the whipper of late days here in England was but a scoffe in comparison of him. All the Colliers of 5 Romford, who holde their corporation by yarking the blinde beare at Paris garden, were but bunglers to him; he had the right agilitie of the lash, there were none of them could make the corde come aloft with a twange halfe like him. Marke the ending, marke the ending. The tribe of 10 Iuda is adiudged from Rome to bee trudging, they may no longer bee lodged ther, al the Albumazers, Rabisacks, Gedions, Tebiths, Benhadads, Benrodans, Zedechiaes, Halies of them were banquerouts and turned out of house and home. *Zacherie* came running to Zadochs in sacke 15 cloth and ashes presently after his goods were confiscated, and tolde him how he was serued, and what decree was comming out against them all. Descriptions, stand by, here is to bee expressed the furie of Lucifer when he was turnde ouer heauen barre for a wrangler. There is a toad fish, 20 which taken out of the water swels more than one would thinke his skin could hold, and bursts in his face that toucheth him. So swelled Zadoch, and was readie to burst out of his skin and shoote his bowels like chaine-shot full at *Zacharies* face for bringing him such balefull tidings; 25 his eies glared & burnt blew like brimstone and *aqua vitæ* set on fire in an egshell, his verie nose lightned glow-wormes, his teeth crasht and grated together, like the ioynts of a high building cracking and rocking like a cradle, when as a tempest takes her full but against his broad 30 side. He swore, he curst, and saide, these be they that worship that crucifide God of Nazareth, heres the fruits of their new found Gospell; sulpher and gunpouder carry them al quick to Gehenna. I would spend my soule willingly, to haue that triple headed Pope with all his sin- 35 absolued whores and oilegreased priests borne with a blacke

4 *New par. but not set in. A.* 35 that] this *A.*

sant on the diuells backes in procession to the pit of perdition. Would I might sink presently into the earth, so I might blow vp this Rome, this whore of *Babilon*, into the aire with my breath. If I must be banisht, if those heathen 5 dogs will needs rob me of my goods, I will poyson their springs & conduit heades, whence they receiue al their water round about the citie; Ile tice all the young children into my house that I can get, and cutting their throates | barrell them vp in poudring beefe tubbes, and so L 1 10 send them to victuall the Popes gallies. Ere the officers come to extend, Ile bestow an hundred pound on a doale of bread, which Ile cause to be kneaded with scorpions oyle that will kill more than the plague. Ile hire them that make their wafers or sacramentary gods, to minge them 15 after the same sort, so in the zeale of their superstitious religion shall they languish and droup lyke carrion. If there be euer a blasphemous coniurer that can call the windes from their brasen caues, and make the cloudes trauell before their time, Ile giue him the other hundred 20 pounds to disturbe the heauens a whole weeke together with thunder and lightning, if it bee for nothing but to sowre all the wines in *Rome*, and turne them to vineger. As long as they haue eyther oyle or wine, this plague feeds but pinglingly vpon them.

25 *Zadoch*, *Zadoch*, sayd Doctor *Zachery* (cutting him off), thou threatnest the aire, whilest we perish here on earth. It is the countesse *Iuliana*, the Marques of Mantuas wife, and no other, that hath complotted our confusion. Aske not how, but insist in my wordes, and assist in reuenge.

30 As how? as how? sayde *Zadoch*, shrugging and shrubbing. More happie than the patriarches were I, if, crushte to death with the greatest torments *Romes* tyrants haue tride, there might be quintesenst out of me one quart of precious poison. I haue a leg with an issue, shall I cut it

1 deuills *A*. 7 ile *B*. 11 an] a *A*. 13 will] may *A*. 17 blasphemous coeniurer *B*. 18 canes *B*. 26 whiles *A*. 26–7 earth, it *B*. 28 confusion, aske *B*. 30 shurgging *B*. 34 haue] baue *B*.

off, & from his fount of corruption extract a venome worse than anie serpents? If thou wilt, Ile goe to a house that is infected, where catching the plague, and hauing got a running sore vpon me, Ile come and deliuer her a supplication, and breath vpon her. I knowe my breath stinkes so 5 alredie, that it is within halfe a degree of poison. Ile paie her home if I perfect it with anie more putrifaction.

No, no, brother *Zadoch*, answered *Zachery*, that is not the way. Canst thou prouide me ere a bond-maide, indued with singular & diuine qualified beautie, whom as a present 10 from our synagogue thou mayst commend vnto her, desiring her to be good and gracious vnto vs?

I haue, I am for you, quoth *Zadoch*: *Diamante*, come L 1v forth. | Heeres a wench (sayd he) of as cleane a skin as *Susanna*, shee hath not a wem on her flesh from the soale 15 of the foote to the crowne of the head: how thinke you, master Doctor, will she not serue the turne?

She will, sayde *Zacharie*; and therefore Ile tell you what charge I would haue committed to her. But I care not if I disclose it onely to her. Maide (if thou beest a 20 maide), come hether to me; thou must be sent to the countesse of *Mantuaes* about a small peece of seruice, whereby, being now a bond woman, thou shalt purchase freedome and gaine a large dowrie to thy mariage. I know thy master loues thee dearly, though he will not let thee 25 perceiue so much; hee intends after hee is dead to make thee his heir, for he hath no children: please him in that I shall instruct thee and thou art made for euer. So it is, that the pope is farre out of liking with the countesse of *Mantua*, his concubine, and hath put his trust in me, his phisi- 30 tion, to haue her quietly and charitably made away. Now, I cannot intend it, for I haue many cures in hande which call vpon me hourly: thou, if thou beest placd with her as her waiting maid or cup-bearer, maist temper poison with hir broth, her meate, her drinke, her oyles, her sirrupes, 35

5 breathe vpon *A*. strinkes *B*. 6 poison, Ile *B*. 12 vs] *A*: her *B*. 14 Heres *c.w.* cleane] cleare *A*.

and neuer bee bewraid. I will not saie whether the pope hath heard of thee, and thou mayst come to bee his lemman in her place, if thou behaue thy selfe wisely. What, hast thou the heart to go thorough with it or no? *Diamante*, 5 deliberating wyth her selfe in what hellish seruitude she liued with the Iew, & that shee had no likelyhood to be releast of it, but fall from euil to worse if she omitted this opportunitie, resigned her selfe ouer wholly to be disposed and emploid as seemed best vnto them. Thervpon, without 10 further consultation, her wardrop was richly rigd, hir tongue smooth filed & new edgd on the whetstone, her drugs deliuered her, and presented she was by *Zadoch*, hir master, to the countesse, together with some other slight newfangles, as from the whole congregatiō, desiring her to 15 stand their mercifull mistres, and solicite the pope for them, that through one mans ignoraunt offence were all generally in disgrace with him, and had incurred the cruel sentence of losse of goods and of banishment. |

Iuliana, liking well the pretie round face of my black L 2 20 browd *Diamante*, gaue the Iew better countenance than otherwise she would haue done, and told him for her owne part she was but a priuate woman, and could promise nothing confidently of his holines: for though he had suffered himselfe to be ouer-ruled by her in some humors, yet 25 in this that toucht him so nerely, she knew not how he would be inclinde: but what laie in her, either to pacifie or perswade him, they should bee sure off, and so craude his absence.

His backe turnd, she askt *Diamante* what countrie 30 woman she was, what friends she had, and how shee fell into the hands of that Iew? She answered that she was a Magnificos daughter of Venice, stolne when she was young from her friends, and sold to this Iew for a bond-woman, who (quoth she) hath vsde me so iewishly and tyrannously, 35 that for euer I must celebrate the memorie of this daie, wherein I am deliuered from his iurisdiction. Alas (quoth

9 them Thervpon *B.* 12 *Zodoch B.* 27 of *A.*

she, deep sighing), why did I enter into anie mention of my owne misusage? It wil be thought that that which I am now to reueale proceeds of mallice, not truth. Madam, your life is sought by these Iews that sue to you. Blush not, nor be troubled in your minde, for with warning I 5 shall arme you against all their intentions. Thus and thus (quoth she) said Doctor *Zachery* vnto me, this poyson he deliuered me. Before I was calde in to them, such & such consultation through the creuise of the doore hard lockt did I heare betwixt them. Denie it if they can, I will iustifie 10 it: onely I beseech you to be fauorable ladie vnto me, and let me not fall againe into the hands of those vipers.

Iuliana said little, but thought vnhappily; onely she thankt her for detecting it, and vowed though she were her bond-woman to be a mother vnto her. The poison 15 she tooke of her, and set it vp charely on a shelfe in her closet, thinking to keepe it for some good purposes: as, for example, when I was consumed and worne to the bones through her abuse, she wold giue me but a dram too much, and pop mee into a priuie. So shee had serued some of 20 her paramors ere that, and if God had not sent *Diamante* to be my redeemer, vndoubtedly I had dronke of the same cup. |

L 2v In a leafe or two before was I lockt vp: here in this page the foresayd good wife Countesse comes to me; she 25 is no longer a iudge but a client. Howe she came, in what manner of attyre, with what immodest and vncomely wordes she courted me, if I should take vpon me to inlarge, all modest eares would abhorre me. Some inconuenience she brought me too by her harlot-like behauior, of which 30 inough I can neuer repent me.

Let that be forgiuen and forgotten, fleshly delights could not make her slothfull or slumbring in reuenge against *Zadoch*. She set men about him to incense and egge him on in courses of discontentment, and other superuising 35 espialls to plie, follow, and spurre forward those suborning

9 hard] fast *A*. 22 drunke *A*. 25 goodwife *A*.

incensers. Both which playde their partes so, that *Zadoch*, of his owne nature violent, swore by the arke of *Iehoua* to set the whole city on fire ere he went out of it. *Zacharie*, after he had furnisht the wench with the poyson, and giuen 5 her instructions to goe to the deuill, durst not staie one houre for feare of disclosing, but fled to the duke of *Burbon*, that after sackt *Rome*, and ther practised with his bastardship all the mischiefe against the pope & *Rome* that enuy could put into his mind. *Zadoch* was left behind for the 10 hangman. According to his oath, he prouided balls of wild fire in a readinesse, and laid traines of gunpouder in a hundred seuerall places of the citie to blow it vp, which he had set fire to, & also bandied his balls abroad, if his attendant spies had not taken him with the manner. To 15 the straightest prison in *Rome* he was dragged, where from top to toe he was clogd with fetters and manacles. *Iuliana* informed the pope of *Zacharies* and his practise: *Zachary* was sought for, but *Non est inuentus*, he was packing long before. Commandement was giuen, that *Zadoch*, whom 20 they had vnder hand and seale of lock and key, should be executed with al the firy torments that could be found out.

Ile make short worke, for I am sure I haue wearyed all my readers. To the execution place was he brought, where first and formost he was stript, then on a sharp 25 yron stake fastened in yͤ ground he had his fundament pitcht, which stake ran vp along into the bodie like a spit; vnder his arme-holes | two of lyke sort; a great bon-fire L 3 they made round about him, wherewith his flesh roasted, not burnd: and euer as with the heate his skinne blistred, 30 the fire was drawen aside, and they basted him with a mixture of Aqua fortis, allum water, and Mercury sublimatum, which smarted to the very soul of him, and searcht him to the marrowe. Then dyd they scourge his backe partes so blistred and basted, with burning whips of red hot wier: 35 his head they nointed ouer with pitch and tar, and so

5 diuell *A*. 13 &] as *A*. 17 *Zacharies*] *A*: *Zachary B*. 25 he had] had he *A*. 26 the] his *A*. 28 hls *B*. 30 him] *A*: dim *B*.

inflamed it. To his priuie members they tied streaming fire-workes: the skinne from the crest of the shoulder, as also from his elbowes, his huckle bones, his knees, his anckles, they pluckt and gnawed off with sparkling pincers: his breast and his belly with seale skins they grated ouer, 5 which as fast as they grated and rawed, one stood ouer & laued with smiths syndry water & Aqua vitæ: his nailes they halfe raised vp, and then vnder-propt them with sharpe prickes, like a Tailers shop window halfe open on a holy daie: euery one of his fingers they rent vp to the 10 wrist: his toes they brake off by the rootes, and let them still hang by a little skinne. In conclusion, they had a small oyle fire, such as men blow light bubbles of glasse with, and beginning at his feete, they let him lingringly burne vp lim by lim, till his heart was consumed, and then 15 he died. Triumph, women, this was the end of the whipping Iew, contriued by a woman, in reuenge of two women, her selfe and her maide.

I haue told you or should tel you in what credit *Diamante* grew with hir mistres. *Iuliana* neuer dreamed but she was 20 an authenticall maide: she made her the chiefe of her bedchamber; she appoynted none but her to look in to me, & serue mee of such necessaryes as I lacked. You must suppose when wee met there was no small reioycing on eyther parte, much like the three brothers that went three 25 seuerall wayes to seeke their fortunes, & at the yeeres end at those three crosse waies met againe, and told one another how they sped: so after wee had bin long asunder seeking our fortunes, wee commented one to another most kindly, what crosse haps had encountred vs. Nere a sixe houres 30 but the Countesse cloyd me with her companie. It grew to L 3v this passe, that either I must finde out | some miraculous meanes of escape, or drop awaie in a consumption, as one pinde for lacke of meate: I was clean spent and done, there was no hope of me. 35

2 of his shoulder *A*. 7 vite *B*. 10 holiday *A*. 22 into *A*.
23 nececessaryes *B*. 28 been *A*. 30 Nere] *A* : Neare *B*. 32 ont *B*.

The yere held on his course to doomes day, when Saint *Peters* daie dawned. That day is a day of supreme solemnity in Rome, when the Embassador of Spaine comes and presents a milke white iennet to the pope, that kneeles
5 downe vppon his owne accord in token of obeisaunce and humilitie before him, and lets him stride on his back as easie as one strides ouer a blocke: with this iennet is offered a rich purse of a yard length, full of *Peter* pence. No musicke that hath the gifte of vtterance, but sounds all the while:
10 coapes and costly vestments decke the hoarsest and beggerlyest singing-man, not a clarke or sexten is absent, no, nor a mule nor a foot-cloth belonging to anie Cardinall but attends on the taile of the triumph. The pope himselfe is borne in his pontificalibus thorough the Burgo (which is the
15 chiefe streete in Rome) to the Embassadours house to dinner, and thether resortes all the assembly: where if a poet should spend all his life time in describing a banket, he could not feast his auditors halfe so wel with wordes, as he doth his guests with iunkets.

20 To this feast *Iuliana* addressed her selfe like an angel; in a litter of greene needle worke wrought like an arbour and open on euerie side was she borne by foure men, hidden vnder cloth rough plushed and wouen like eglentine and wodbine. At the foure corners it was topt with foure rounde
25 christall cages of Nightingales. For foote men, on either side of her went foure virgins clad in lawne, with lutes in their hands, playing. Next before her, two and two in order, a hundred pages in sutes of white cipresse and long horsemens coates of cloth of siluer: who, being all in white,
30 aduanced euerie one of them her picture, enclosed in a white round screene of feathers, such as is carried ouer greate princesses heads when they ride in summer, to keepe them from the heate of the sun. Before them went a foure score bead women shee mantayned, in greene gownes, scattering
35 strawing hearbes and floures. After her followed the blinde,

2 dawned: that *B*. 4 to] *A*: fo *B*. 30 her] *A*: his *B*. 33 sun, before *B*. 34 maintaind in *Q*. 35 strowing *A*.

the halte, and the lame, sumptuously apparelled like Lords; and thus past she on to S. *Peters*. |

L 4 *Interea quid agitur domi*, how ist at home all this while? My curtizan is left my keeper, the keyes are committed vnto hir, she is mistres *fac totum*. Against 5 our countesse we conspire, packe vp all her iewels, plate, mony that was extant, and to the water side send them: to conclude, couragiously rob her, and run away. *Quid non auri sacra fames?* what defame will not golde salue? Hee mistooke himselfe that inuented the prouerbe, *Dimi-* 10 *candum est pro aris & focis*: for it should haue been *pro auro & fama*: not for altares and fires we must contend, but for gold and fame.

Oares nor winde could not stirre nor blow faster, than we toyld out of *Tiber*; a number of good fellowes would giue 15 size ace and the dice, that with as little toyle they could leaue Tyburne behinde them. Out of ken we were, ere the Countesse came from the feast. When she returned and found her house not so much pestred as it was wont, her chests, her closets, and her cupbords broke open to take 20 aier, and that both I and my keeper was missing; O, then shee fared like a franticke Bacchinall, she stampt, she star'd, shee beate her head against the walls, scratcht her face, bit her fingers, and strewd all the chamber with her haier. None of her seruants durst stay in her sight, but 25 she beate them out in heapes, and bad them goe seeke, search they knew not where, and hang themselues, and neuer looke her in the face more, if they did not hunt vs out. After her furie had reasonably spent it selfe, her breast began to swell with the mother, caused by her 30 former fretting & chafing, and she grew verie ill at ease. Whereuppon shee knockt for one of her maids, and bad her run into her closet, and fetch her a little glasse that stood on the vpper shelfe, wherein there was *spiritus vini*. The maid went, & mistaking tooke the glasse of poyson 35

2 Saint *A*. Peters *B*. 3 *Run on in Gro.* *Interia c.w.*
6 tewels (*broken* t) *B*. 26–7 seeke search *Q*.

which *Diamante* had giu'n her, and she kept in store for me. Comming with it as fast as her legs could carrie her, her misterres at hir returne was in a sownd, and lay for dead on the floore, wherat she shrikt out, and fel a rub-
5 bing & chafing her very busily. When that would not serue, she tooke a keye and opened her mouth, and hauing heard that *spiritus Vini* was a thing of mightie operation, able to call a man from death to life, shee tooke the poyson, and verely thinking it | to be *spiritus vini* (such as she was L 4v
10 sent for), powrd a large quãtitie of it into her throate, and iogd on her backe to digest it. It reuiued her with a verie vengeaunce, for it kild her outright; onely she awakend & lift vp her hands, but spake nere a worde. Then was the maid in my grandames beanes, and knew not what should
15 become of her: I heard the Pope tooke pittie on her, & because her trespasse was not voluntarie but chance-medly, he assigned hir no other punishment but this, to drinke out the rest of the poison in the glasse that was left, and so go scot-free. Wee, carelesse of these mischances, helde on our
20 flight, and saw no man come after vs but we thought had pursued vs. A theefe, they saie, mistakes euerie bush for a true man; the winde ratled not in any bush by the way as I rode, but I straight drew my rapier. To *Bologna* with a mery gale we poasted, where wee lodged our selues in a
25 blinde streete out of the waie, and kept secret many daies: but when we perceiued we saild in the hauen, that the winde was laid, and no allarum made after vs, we boldly came abroad: & one day hearing of a more desperate murtherer than *Caine* that was to be executed, we followed
30 the multitude, and grutcht not to lend him our eyes at his last parting.

Who shoulde it be but one *Cutwolfe*, a wearish dwarfish writhen facde cobler, brother to *Bartol* the Italian, that was confederate with *Esdras* of *Granado*, and at that time stole
35 away my curtizan, when he rauisht *Heraclide*?

2 her ,legs *B*. 3 mistres *A*. 11 disgest *A*. verie] merrie *A*. 14 my] her *A*. 29 murdrer *A*.

It is not so naturall for me to epitomize his impietie, as to heare him in his owne person speak vpon the wheele where he was to suffer.

Prepare your eares and your teares, for neuer tyll this thrust I anie tragecall matter vpon you. Strange and wonderfull are Gods iudgements, here shine they in their glory. Chast *Heraclide*, thy bloud is laid vp in heauens treasury, not one drop of it was lost, but lent out to vsurie: water powred forth sinkes downe quietly into the earth, but bloud spilt on the ground sprinkles vp to the firma- ment. Murder is wide-mouthd and will not let God rest till he grant reuenge. Not onely the bloud of the slaugh- tred innocent, but the soul, ascendeth to his throne, and there cries out & exclaimes for iustice | and recompence. Guiltlesse soules that liue euery houre subiect to violence, and with your dispairing feares doe much empaire Gods prouidence, fasten your eies on this spectacle that will adde to your faith. Referre all your oppressions, afflictions, & iniuries to the euen ballanced eie of the Almightie; he it is, that when your patience sleepeth, will be most ex- ceeding mindfull of you.

This is but a glose vpon the text: thus *Cutwolfe* begins his insulting oration.

Men and people that haue made holy day to beholde my pained flesh toil on the wheele, expect not of me a whining penitent slaue, that shal do nothing but cry and say his praiers, and so be crusht in peeces. My bodie is little, but my minde is as great as a gyants: the soule which is in mee is the verie soule of *Iulius Cæsar* by reuersion. My name is *Cutwolfe*, neither better nor worse by occupation than a poore Cobler of *Verona*; Coblers are men, and kings are no more. The occasion of my com- ming hether at this present is to haue a few of my bones broken (as we are all borne to die) for being the death of the Emperour of homicides, *Esdras* of *Granado*. About two yeeres since in the streets of *Rome* he slew the only

30 reuersion, my *B*. 31 occupation, than *A*: occupation, but *B*.

and eldest brother I had, named *Bartoll*, in quarrelling about a curtizan. The newes brought to me as I was sitting in my shop vnder a stal, knocking in of tacks, I thinke I raisd vp my bristles, solde pritch-aule, spunge,
5 blacking tub, and punching yron, bought mee rapier and pistoll, and to goe I went. Twentie months together I pursued him, from *Rome* to *Naples*, from *Naples* to *Caiete*, passing ouer the riuer, from *Caiete* to *Syenna*, from *Syenna* to *Florence*, from *Florence* to *Parma*, from *Parma* to *Pauia*,
10 from *Pauia* to *Syon*, from *Syon* to *Geneua*, from *Geneua* backe againe towards *Rome*: where in the way it was my chance to meet him in the nicke here at *Bolognia*, as I will tell you how. I sawe a great fraie in the streetes as I past along, and many swordes walking, wherevpon drawing
15 neerer, and enquiring who they were, answer was retourned me it was that notable Bandetto, *Esdras* of *Granado*. O, so I was tickled in the spleene with that word, my hart hopt and danst, my elbowes itcht, my fingers friskt, | I M 1v wist not what should become of my feete, nor knewe what
20 I did for ioy. The fray parted, I thought it not conuenient to single him out (beeing a sturdie knaue) in the street, but to stay till I had got him at more aduantage. To his lodging I dogd him, lay at the dore all night where hee entred, for feare hee should giue me the slip anye way.
25 Betimes in the morning I rung the bel and craued to speke with him: now to his chamber dore I was brought, where knocking, hee rose in his shirt and let me in, and when I was entred, bad me lock the dore and declare my arrant, and so he slipt to bed againe.

30 Marrie this, quoth I, is my arrant. Thy name is *Esdras* of *Granado*, is it not? Most treacherously thou slewst my brother *Bartoll* about two yeres agoe in the streetes of *Rome*: his death am I come to reuenge. In quest of thee euer since, aboue three thousand miles haue I trauaild. I

20 parted. I *A*. 22 til. I *B*. 23 dogd] *A*: doge *B*. 26 speake with him: vp to *A*: speke, with him now to *B*. 28 I] he *A*. 34 a boue *B*.

haue begd to maintaine me the better part of the waye, onely because I would intermit no time from my pursute in going backe for monie. Now haue I got thee naked in my power; die thou shalt, though my mother and my grandmother dying did intreate for thee. I haue promist the 5 diuell thy soule within this houre, breake my word I will not; in thy breast I intend to burie a bullet. Stirre not, quinch not, make no noyse: for if thou dost it will be worse for thee.

Quoth *Esdras*, what euer thou best at whose mercie I lye, spare me, and I wil giue thee as much gold as thou 10 wilt aske. Put me to anie paines, my life reserued, and I willingly will sustaine them: cut off my armes and legs, and leaue me as a lazer to some loathsome spittle, where I may but liue a yeare to pray and repent me. For thy brothers death the despayre of mind that hath euer since haunted 15 mee, the guiltie gnawing worme of conscience I feele may bee sufficient penance. Thou canst not send me to such a hell as alreadie there is in my hart. To dispatch me presently is no reuenge, it will soone be forgotten: let me dye a lingring death, it will be remembred a great deale 20 longer. A lingring death maye auaile my soule, but it is the illest of ills that can befortune my bodie. For my soules health I beg my bodies torment: bee not thou a diuell to torment my soule, and send me to eternall M 2 damna-|tion. Thy ouer-hanging sword hides heauen from 25 my sight, I dare not looke vp, least I embrace my deathes-wounde vnwares. I cannot pray to God and plead to thee both at once. Ay mee, alreadie I see my life buried in the wrinckles of thy browes: say but I shall liue, though thou meanest to kill me. Nothing confounds like to suddaine 30 terror, it thrusts euerie sense out of office. Poyson wrapt vp in sugred pills is but halfe a poyson: the feare of deaths lookes are more terrible than his stroake. The whilest I viewe death, my faith is deaded: where a mans feare is, there his heart is. Feare neuer engenders hope: how can I 35

1 manitaine *B*. 9 best] bee *A*. 23 bodies] *A*: bodie *B*. 26-7 deathes, wounde *B*. 31 wrapt] *A*: warpt *B*.

hope that heauens father will saue mee from the hell euerlasting, when he giues me ouer to the hell of thy furie?

Heraclide, now thinke I on thy teares sowne in the dust, (thy teares, that my bloudie minde made barraine). In 5 reuenge of thee, God hardens this mans heart against mee: yet I did not slaughter thee, though hundreds else my hand hath brought to the shambles. Gentle sir, learne of mee what it is to clog your conscience with murder, to haue your dreames, your sleepes, your solitarie walkes troubled 10 and disquited with murther: your shaddowe by daie will affright you, you will not see a weapon vnsheathde, but immediatly you will imagine it is predestinate for your destruction.

This murther is a house diuided within it selfe: it sub- 15 bornes a mans owne soule to infourme against him: his soule (beeing his accuser) brings foorth his two eyes as witnesses against him; and the least eie witnesse is vnrefutable. Plucke out my eyes if thou wilt, and depriue my traiterous soule of her two best witnesses. Digge out 20 my blasphemous tongue wyth thy dagger, both tongue and eyes wyll I gladly forgoe, to haue a lyttle more time to thinke on my iourney to heauen.

Deferre a while thy resolution, I am not at peace wyth the world, for euen but yesterdaie I fought, and in my 25 furie threatned further vengeance: had I a face to aske forgiuenesse, I shoulde thinke halfe my sinnes were forgiuen. A hundred deuils haunt mee dayly for my horrible murthers: | the deuilles when I die will bee loth to goe to M 2v hell with mee, for they desired of Christ he would not send 30 them to hel before their time: if they goe not to hell, into thee they will goe, and hideously vex thee for turning them out of their habitation. Wounds I contemne, life I prize light, it is another worlds tranquilitie which makes me so

6 slaughterd *B.* hand *B.* 10 disquieted *A.* murther. Your *A.* 14 murder *A.* 17 least] *A*: last *B.* 25–6 had I . . . forgiuenesse] had I face to face askt forgiuenesse *A.* 27 Diuells *A.* 28 murders *A.* diuells *A.*

timerous; euerlasting damnation, euerlasting houling and lamentation. It is not from death I request thee to deliuer me, but frõ this terror of torments eternitie. Thy brothers bodie only I pearst vnaduisedly, his soule meant I no harme to at all: my bodie & soule both shalt thou cast awaie quite, if thou doest at this instant what thou maist. Spare me, spare me, I beseech thee; by thy owne soules saluation I desire thee, seeke not my souls vtter perdition: in destroying me, thou destroyest thy self and me.

Eagerly I replid after this long suppliant oration: Though I knew God would neuer haue mercy vpon me except I had mercie on thee, yet of thee no mercy would I haue. Reuenge in our tragedies is continually raised from hell: of hell doe I esteeme better than heauen, if it afford me reuenge. There is no heauen but reuenge. I tel thee, I would not haue vndertoke so much toile to gaine heauen, as I haue done in pursuing thee for reuenge. Diuine reuenge, of which (as of yͤ ioies aboue) there is no fulnes or satietie. Looke how my feete are blistered with following thee frõ place to place. I haue riuen my throat with ouerstraining it to curse thee. I haue ground my teeth to pouder with grating & grinding them together for anger when any hath namde thee. My tongue with vaine threates is bolne, and waxen too big for my mouth: my eyes haue broken their strings with staring and looking ghastly, as I stood deuising how to frame or set my countenance whẽ I met thee. I haue neere spent my strength in imaginarie acting on stone wals, what I determined to execute on thee: intreate not, a miracle may not repriue thee: villaine, thus march I with my blade into thy bowels.

Stay, stay, exclaimed *Esdras*, and heare me but one word further. Though neither for God nor man thou carest, but placest thy whole felicitie in murther, yet of thy felicity learn how to make a greater felicitie. Respite me

10 *New par. Gro. Run on in Q.* this] his *A.* 11 vpon] on *A.* 13 is continually] continually is *A.* 18 as one of *Gro.* 24 mouth. My *A.* 29 thee. Entreate *A* 33 murder *A.*

a little from thy | swordes point, and set me about some M 3
execrable enterprise, that may subuert the whole state of
christendome, and make all mens eares tingle that heare
of it. Commaund me to cut all my kindreds throats, to
5 burne men, women, and children in their beds in millions,
by firing their Cities at midnight. Be it Pope, Emperor,
or Turke that displeaseth thee, he shall not breath on the
earth. For thy sake will I sweare and forsweare, re-
nounce my baptisme, and all the interest I haue in any
10 other sacrament. Onely let mee liue howe miserable so
euer, be it in a dungeon amongst toads, serpents, and
adders, or set vp to the necke in dong. No paines I will
refuse howe euer proroged, to haue a little respite to purifie
my spirit: oh, heare me, heare me, & thou canst not be
15 hardned against mee.

At this his importunitie I paused a little, not as retiring
frō my wreakfull resolution, but going backe to gather
more forces of vengeaunce. With my selfe I deuised how
to plague him double for his base minde: my thoughtes
20 traueld in quest of some notable newe Italionisme, whose
murderous platforme might not onely extend on his bodie,
but his soul also. The ground worke of it was this: that
whereas he had promised for my sake to sweare and for-
sweare, and commit *Iulian*-like violence on the highest
25 seales of religion; if he would but this farre satisfie me,
he should be dismist from my furie. First and formost, he
should renounce God and his laws, and vtterly disclaime
the whole title or interest he had in anie couenant of
saluation. Next, he should curse him to his face, as Iob
30 was willed by his wife, and write an absolute firme
obligation of his soule to the deuill, without condition or
exception. Thirdly and lastly, (hauing done this,) hee
shoulde pray to God feruently neuer to haue mercie vpon
him, or pardon him.

1 swords *c.w.* 5 millions *B.* 10 sacrament, onely *B.* 12 dung *A.*
18 vengeaunce, with *B.* 19 for] *A* : in *B.* 25 this] thus *A.* 31
diuell *A.*

Scarce had I propounded these articles vnto him, but he was beginning his blasphemous abiurations. I wonder the earth opened not and swalowed vs both, hearing the bolde tearmes he blasted forth in contempt of Christianitie: heauen hath thundered when halfe lesse contumelies 5 against it haue bene vttered. Able they were to raise Saintes and martyrs from their graues, and plucke Christ himselfe from the right hand of his father. My ioints M 3v trembled & quakt | with attending them, my haire stood vpright, & my hart was turned wholy to fire. So affec- 10 tionatly and zealously dyd hee giue himselfe ouer to infidelity, as if sathan had gotten the vpper hand of our high maker. The veyne in his left hand that is deriued from the hart with no faint blow he pierst, & with the full bloud that flowed from it, writ a full obligation of his soule 15 to the deuill: yea, he more earnestly praid vnto God neuer to forgiue his soule, than many christians do to saue their soules. These fearefull ceremonies brought to an end, I bad him ope his mouth and gape wide. He did so, (as what wil not slaues do for feare?); therewith made I no 20 more ado, but shot him full into the throat with my pistoll: no more spake he after; so did I shoot him that he might neuer speake after, or repent him. His bodie being dead lookt as blacke as a toad: the deuill presently branded it for his owne. This is the falt that hath called me hether; 25 no true Italian but will honor me for it. Reuenge is the glorie of armes, & the highest performance of valure: reuenge is whatsoeuer we call law or iustice. The farther we wade in reuenge, the neerer come we to ẙ throne of the almightie. To his scepter it is properly ascribed; his 30 scepter he lends vnto man, when he lets one man scourge an other. All true Italians imitate me in reuenging constantly and dying valiantly. Hangman, to thy taske, for I

1 *New par. Gro. Run on in Q.* 3 openod *B.* 6 haue] *A*: hath *B.* 13 vyene *B.* 14 from his heart *A.* full] *om. A.* 16 diuell *A.* yea, more earnestly he praid *A.* 17 forgiue it his soule *A.* 24 diuell *A.*

am readie for the vtmost of thy rigor. Herewith all the people (outragiously incensed) with one conioyned outcrie yelled mainely, Awaie with him, away with him. Executioner, torture him, teare him, or we will teare thee in
5 peeces if thou spare him.

The executioner needed no exhortation herevnto, for of his owne nature was he hackster good inough: olde excellent he was at a bone-ach. At the first chop with his wood-knife would he fish for a mans heart, and fetch it
10 out as easily as a plum from the bottome of a porredge pot. He woulde cracke neckes as fast as a cooke cracks egges: a fidler cannot turne his pin so soone as he would turne a man of the ladder. Brauely did he drum on this *Cutwolfes* bones, not breaking them outright, but, like a
15 sadler knocking in of tackes, iarring on them quaueringly with his hammer a great while together. No ioint about him but with a hatchet he had for the nones he | disioynted M 4 halfe, and then with boyling lead souldered vp the wounds from bleeding: his tongue he puld out, least he should
20 blaspheme in his torment: venimous stinging wormes hee thrust into his eares, to keep his head rauingly occupied: with cankers scruzed to peeces hee rubd his mouth and his gums: no lim of his but was lingeringly splinterd in shiuers. In this horror left they him on the wheele as in hell; where,
25 yet liuing, he might beholde his flesh legacied amongst the foules of the aire. Vnsearchable is the booke of our destinies. One murder begetteth another: was neuer yet bloud-shed barren from the beginning of the world to this daie. Mortifiedly abiected and danted was I with this
30 truculent tragedie of *Cutwolfe* and *Esdras*. To such straight life did it thence forward incite me that ere I went out of *Bolognia* I married my curtizan, performed many almes deedes; and hasted so fast out of the *Sodom* of *Italy*, that within fortie daies I arriued at the king of *Englands*
35 campe twixt *Ardes* and *Guines* in *France*, where he with

1 Herewithall *B*. 13 ladder: brauely *B*. 23 gums. No *A*. 27 destinies, one *B*. 30 trunculent *Q*. 33 deedes, and *B*.

great triumphs met and entertained the Emperour and the French king, and feasted many daies. And so as my storie began with the king at *Turnay* and *Turwin*, I thinke meete here to end it with the king at *Ardes* and *Guines*. All the conclusiue epilogue I wil make is this; that if herein I haue 5 pleased anie, it shall animat mee to more paines in this kind.

Otherwise I will sweare vpon an English Chronicle
neuer to bee out-landish Chronicler more
while I liue. Farewell as many
as wish me well. 10

FINIS.

10 well. *June* 27. 1593. *A*.

THE TRAGEDIE OF DIDO QVEENE OF CARTHAGE

Entry in the Stationers' Register: None.

Editions: (1) *Early:*

1594. THE | Tragedie of Dido | *Queene of Carthage:* | Played by the Children of her | *Maiesties Chappell.* | Written by Chriſtopher Marlowe, and | *Thomas Naſh. Gent.* | Actors | [Names arranged in two columns: left—] *Iupiter.* | *Ganimed.* | *Venus.* | *Cupid.* | *Iuno.* | *Mercurie, or* | *Hermes.* | *Æneas.* | [right—] *Aſcanius.* | *Dido.* | *Anna.* | *Achates.* | *Ilioneus.* | *Iarbas.* | *Cloanthes.* | *Sergeſtus.* | [device] | AT LONDON, | Printed, by the Widdowe *Orwin*, for *Thomas Woodcocke*, and | are to be ſolde at his ſhop, in Paules Church-yeard, at | the ſigne of the blacke Beare. 1594. |

No colophon. Quarto. Not paged.

Collation: A–F^4, G^2. (A 1) Title, *v.* blank. A 2 'The Tragedie of *Diao* Queene *of Carthage.*' *Rom. and Ital.* R-T. *The Tragedie of Dido.* Signatures in Roman, except that of E 2, which is signed *E* 2. Fourth leaves not signed.

Catch-words: A 2. Whose B 1. But C 1. About D 1. Yet E 1. I F 1. For G 1. But

Copy used: That in the Bodleian Library (Malone, 133). This copy is mounted in single leaves. The top margins have been shorn and in some cases part or the whole of the running-title is missing. The first word of the title, 'THE,' has been partly cut off and is very roughly completed on the mounting paper. The lower halves of the letters have also been inked over, in order, apparently, to make them harmonize better with the continuation.

(2) *Modern editions:*

1825 (Hurst) The Old English Drama. A Selection of Plays from the Old English Dramatists. London: Printed for Hurst, Robinson, and Co. ... and Archibald Constable. Vol. ii.

In modern spelling. No indication of the copy used. The name of the editor is not given and I am unable to find out who this was. There are no notes, but an introduction of seven pages, dealing with Nashe, is prefixed to the play. In this collection each play has a separate title-page and is paged separately. According to Lowndes it was first published by Baldwyn, whose name appears on the title-pages of most of the plays. As however the names of Hurst and Robinson appear on that of *Dido*, I use the first of these to designate the edition.

1826 (Rob.) The Works of Christopher Marlowe. London: William Pickering. Vol. ii, pp. 333–401.

Modern spelling. This edition also is anonymous, but it is generally ascribed to G. Robinson (see *The Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1841, p. 45, and *N. & Q.* 4th S. xi, 295). Cunningham, probably by a mere slip of the pen, calls the editor 'Mr. Dickinson' (Marlowe, p. xxii). The edition appears to be very similar to that of the year before. Was that perhaps also the work of Robinson and was he one of the publishers?

1850 (Dyce [1]) The Works of Christopher Marlowe with Notes ... by the Rev. Alexander Dyce. London: William Pickering. Vol. ii, pp. 361–440.

Modern spelling. Dyce does not say what copy he used.

1858 (Dyce [2]) The Works of Christopher Marlowe: with ... Notes, by the Rev. Alexander Dyce. A new edition, revised and corrected. London: Edward Moxon. pp. 247–274.

Modern spelling. This is substantially the same as Dyce's earlier edition, but in a few cases he has placed in the text emendations which were only proposed in the footnotes of the other. This edition is identical with that issued later by Routledge in the series of 'The Old Dramatists.'

1870 (Cun.) The Works of Christopher Marlowe ... Edited ... by Lt. Col. Francis Cunningham. London: A. J. Crocker Brothers. pp. 173–195.

Modern spelling. Variant readings not generally given, but there are a few notes, textual and other, at the end. This edition seems to have been based rather on that of Robinson than on Dyce's, though much use was no doubt made of the latter, for in the stage-directions, as well as in the division into scenes and in other details of arrangement, the earlier edition seems generally to be preferred.

This edition was afterwards reissued, without date, by Hotten, and later by Chapman and Hall.

1885 (Bul.) The Works of Christopher Marlowe, edited by A.H.Bullen ... London: J.C.Nimmo. Vol. ii, pp. 299–376.

Modern spelling. From the copy in the Bodleian Library. The lines are numbered by scenes.

1885 (Gro.) The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe ... edited by A. B. Grosart. Vol. vi, pp. 1–79.

In old spelling. From the copy in the Library of the Duke of Devonshire (Kemble Collection). The lines are numbered straight through, but there appears to be some inconsistency in the inclusion and omission of stage-directions and scene-headings. It is not clear whether Grosart had seen Mr. Bullen's edition before printing his text of *Dido*. He certainly had done so however before it was issued, for the Glossarial Index to Nashe, which is contained in the same volume, has numerous references to Mr. Bullen's readings and includes many of his notes. Several of Grosart's conjectures will be found in this Index.

1904. (The present edition.)

From the copy in the Bodleian Library, with collations from Dyce, Cunningham, Mr. Bullen, and Grosart. The readings of the earlier editors are only noticed in connexion with the readings of these. Thus an emendation introduced by Robinson and rejected by Dyce and all later editors would not here be recorded. Every note however implies collation of all editions. Readings which are simple modernizations are of course ignored.

Certain conjectural emendations are given from other sources besides the earlier editions. These, with the abbreviations used to indicate them, are as follows:

Mitf.: An article by the Rev. J. Mitford on Robinson's edition of Marlowe, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1841.

Coll.: Pencil jottings by J. P. Collier in his copy of Dyce's first edition of Marlowe, now in the British Museum (11771. bbb. 6). It should be remembered that these are merely hasty notes made while reading the play, and were not intended for publication. Some of them,

I think, would have almost certainly been rejected on further consideration. They seemed however of sufficient interest to be recorded.

Deigh.: From *The Old Dramatists. Conjectural Readings on the texts of... Marlowe,... By K. Deighton*, 1896. Some of Mr. Deighton's emendations had already been proposed by Mitford and Collier.

On account of the large number of modern editions of this play, and of the majority of them being in modern spelling, it has been necessary to modify to some extent the method of giving collations followed in the prose works. The following additional abbreviations are used:

etc. after the designation of an edition stands for all editions of a later date.

ex. stands for except. Thus *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce* means all editions after and including that of 1825 (i. e. all modern editions), with the exception of the two edited by Dyce.

conj. indicates a reading proposed or suggested by an editor, but not given in his text. Thus *Dyce*[1] *conj.*, *Dyce*[2] means that the reading in question was given in a note as a conjecture in Dyce's first edition and printed in the text in the second.

S. D. stands for stage-direction. A note in the form 'head S.D. *Exit. Dyce etc.*' means that after the word 'head' in the text Dyce and later editors add the stage-direction *Exit.*

Minor verbal differences in the stage-directions given by various editors are not usually noticed, provided, of course, that the meaning is in no way affected. The form of the direction in the quarto is however always given whenever mine differs from it in more than punctuation.

In footnotes all stage-directions are printed in italics, whatever may be their typographical form in the editions from which they are cited.

Stage-directions and headings of acts and scenes which are entirely omitted in the original edition are here placed within square brackets, but these are not used in the case of additions made to directions already existing in some form or another.

Mr. Bullen and Grosart placed all words added in the text within square brackets. These are omitted in the collation notes. In the prose works I have kept Grosart's brackets in order to make it clear that these insertions were intentional and not errors of the transcriber or of the press. In *Dido*, however, there is no question of mistakes of this nature. Grosart edited the play with unusual care and gives the readings of the quarto in footnotes.

It seems well to mention that when a word is cited from the text in order to note that it is the emendation of an editor, it is not to be understood that the editor necessarily printed it in exactly the same form as that in which it appears here. Account is only taken of the essential correction. Thus the note 'chaunged] *Dyce etc.*: chaunge *Q, Hurst,*

Rob.' must not be taken to mean that Dyce printed 'chaunged,' for, his edition being in modern spelling, he actually printed 'changed,' but merely that he first added the d. Similarly a word in italics here may be in roman in another edition, or hyphens may there have been added in accordance with modern custom which are here omitted.

Passages in quotation marks in the footnotes are from the notes of former editors. They are generally indications of locality, which it has been thought well to place among textual notes on account of their bearing on scene-division.

Except at the head of scenes, stage-directions are referred to by the number of the line preceding them.

The lines are numbered by acts, these being the only divisions in the quarto. References given from Mr. Bullen's edition may easily be found with a little calculation, and I give, at the beginning of each scene, the number of the line in Grosart's edition. Further, as it has been represented to me that a numbering of the lines throughout would be useful, I give this also in square brackets. This numbering is according to the *lines of print in the quarto*, including everything except the title-page, running-titles, and catch-words. It was unfortunately impossible to use Grosart's numbering on account of its irregularity.

The division of the play into acts and scenes:

In the original edition the play is divided into five acts, the first of which has however no heading. If this omission has any significance, which is doubtful, it may mean that the opening 121 lines were intended rather as a sort of prologue or induction than as actually part of the play itself.

Divisions of scenes are not indicated. The third and fourth acts are however headed respectively 'Actus 3. Scena 1.' and 'Actus 4. Scena 1.' which seems to show that at least these acts were originally divided[1].

With the exception of Dyce, all modern editors have divided the play into scenes. In general their division has

[1] We may suppose that in the manuscript used by the printer the scene-divisions had been struck out, possibly for some reason connected with the representation of the play. Though of a much later date the manuscript of Massinger's *Believe as you List* (Brit. Mus. Egerton, 2828), which is clearly an acting copy, affords an exact parallel. In this manuscript the scene-headings are crossed out in every case except at the beginning of an act, while there, in three out of the five acts, they are allowed to remain.

been the same, but Robinson, followed by Cunningham, made two scenes of Act V, dividing it after line 82, other editors only one. Dyce, while printing each act without a break, noted at places generally corresponding with the beginnings of scenes in other editions the locality in which he considered that the action was supposed to take place. Both he and Mr. Bullen had, however, to suppose changes of locality in the middle of more than one scene, that is, while characters remained on the stage.

The play is indeed one which it is impossible to divide in a perfectly satisfactory manner. One must, I think, suppose that the action was but very vaguely localized in the minds of the authors. Even the changes of place supposed by Dyce and Mr. Bullen at I. 121, II. 70, and II. 315 do not seem all that are required. The opening lines of Act II can only have been spoken in some place from which a view of Carthage could be obtained, presumably the hill overlooking the town from which Vergil makes Aeneas obtain his first sight of it; but even if we neglect the representation of Priam which Aeneas sees immediately afterward, and which *should* be in or upon Juno's temple within a grove in the middle of the town, we must surely suppose that the banquet takes place somewhere within the walls, either at the temple or in Dido's palace. Again, in Act III, Scene iii, we seem to have a similar change of locality while the action is in progress. Both Dyce and Mr. Bullen place the whole of this scene in a wood near Carthage, but to me it seems that the beginning of the scene rather represents the start from Dido's palace. It is impossible to say with certainty that it actually does so, but Dido's words 'I ... goe with thee to hunt,' the fact that she seems to have just come out of her dressing-room and has not yet put on her quiver, and her telling the lords to 'goe before,' all seem to point rather to a start for the hunting-ground than to a meeting there.

Questions such as this will however be more conveniently discussed in connexion with the relation between the play

and the story of Dido as Vergil tells it. I therefore leave whatever else I may have to say on the matter for the note-volume.

If the play is to be divided into scenes at all, the division adopted by Mr. Bullen and Grosart seems, on the whole, the best that can be made. I therefore retain it here, though, for the purpose of numbering, I treat the acts as undivided.

Nashe's Elegy on the Death of Marlowe:

It is said that there formerly existed a copy or copies of *Dido* which contained an Elegy by Nashe upon Marlowe. The little that is known about it is well summarized in a note by Malone prefixed to his copy of *Dido* in the Bodleian Library : this note, which I give in full, runs as follows :—

'The tragedy of DIDO is one of the scarcest plays in the English language. There are but two copies known to be extant ; in the possession of Dr. Wright and Mr. Reed.

'Mr. Warton speaks in his *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* (iii. p. 435 [1]) of an Elegy being prefixed to it on the death of Marlowe ; but no such is found in either of those copies. In answer to my inquiries on this subject he informed me by letter, that a copy of this play was in Osborne's catalogue in the year 1754 [2]; that he then saw it in his shop (together with several of Mr. Oldys's books that Osborne had purchased), & that the elegy in question "on Marlowe's untimely death" was inserted immediately after the title page, that it mentioned a play of Marlowe's entitled *the Duke of Guise* and four others, but whether particularly by *name,* he could not recollect. Unluckily he did not purchase this rare piece, & it is now God knows where.

[1] Ed. of 1774–81. Vol. iv, p. 311, note 6, in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's edition of 1871.

[2] Grosart gives this date as 1774. In the original it is either 1734 altered to 1754 or 1754 altered to 1734, probably the former. I have however in vain sought the entry in question in the two volumes of Osborne's catalogue for 1754 and in those of several other years. It would, however, as those who know these catalogues will probably agree, be too daring to assert positively that it is not there. I cannot find any catalogue for 1734, and do not know whether one was ever issued.

'Bishop Tanner likewise mentions this elegy in so particular a manner that he must have seen it. "Marlovius (Christopherus), quondam in academia Cantabrigiensi musarum alumnus; postea actor scenicus; deinde poeta dramaticus tragicus, paucis inferior. Scripsit plurimas tragedias, sc. Tamerline——Tragedie of Dido Queen of Carthage. Pr. Come gentle Ganymed. Hanc perfecit & edidit Tho. Nash Lond. 1594. 4to.——Petowius in præfatione ad Secundam partem Herois et Leandri multa in Marlovii commendationem adfert; hoc etiam facit Tho. Nash in *Carmine Elegiaco tragediæ Didonis præfixo in obitum Christoph. Marlovii*, ubi quatuor ejus tragediarum mentionem facit, nec non et alterius *de duce Guisio*."—*Bib. Britan.* 1748.

'I suspect Mr. Warton had no other authority than this for saying that this play was left imperfect by Marlowe, and completed & published by Nashe; for it does not appear from the title page that it was not written in conjunction by him & Marlowe in the lifetime of the former. Perhaps Nashe's Elegy might ascertain this point. Tanner had, I believe, no authority but Philipses, for calling Marlowe an actor.

'There was an old Latin play on the subject of Dido, written by John Rightwise, and played before Cardinal Wolsey, & again before Queen Elizabeth in 1564. There is also another Latin Play on this subject—"*Dido*, tragedia nova ex quatuor prioribus (potis[si]mum primo & quarto) libris Aeneidos Virgilii desumpta, &c. Antverpiae, 1559."'

I think there is no reason to doubt that this elegy did actually exist, and fully expect that it will come to light again some day. At present it seems unfortunately quite impossible to trace it. I can only learn of three copies of *Dido*, and it certainly is not in any one of these. Malone's, of course, does not contain it: that in the Library of the Duke of Devonshire was used by Grosart in preparing his edition, so the elegy cannot exist in this either: lastly, in answer to my inquiries, the Librarian at Bridgewater House very kindly examined the copy there for me and

informs me that it contains nothing of this nature [1]. The existence of a fourth copy is mentioned in Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, but I can learn nothing of its whereabouts [2].

It is greatly to be regretted that we know so little of this perhaps important piece: we cannot be certain whether it was printed or in manuscript, in Latin or in English, for Warton's description of it as being 'on Marlowe's untimely death' seems hardly likely to have been the actual title. If it was printed, it was probably a late addition to the book, a single leaf inserted after the title-page. Otherwise, unless it is more than one page in length, we should expect to find it on the verso of the title, which in known copies is blank, and this Warton's words hardly allow us to suppose. Finally, it is possible that there were two editions of *Dido*, one containing the Elegy, and one without it; but this seems unlikely.

[1] He also tells me that the copy in question corresponds exactly with a description which I sent him of that at the Bodleian. As this description included several instances of misprints, there can I think be no doubt that the copies belong to the same edition.

[2] In *N. & Q.* 6th S. ix. 508 Dr. B. Nicholson asked for news of other copies of *Dido*, especially of any which contained the elegy in question. He failed however to obtain a reply.

THE
Tragedie of Dido
Queene of Carthage:
Played by the Children of her
Maiesties Chappell.

Written by Christopher Marlowe, and
Thomas Nash. Gent.

Actors

Iupiter.	*Ascanius.*
Ganimed.	*Dido.*
Venus.	*Anna.*
Cupid.	*Achates.*
Iuno.	*Ilioneus.*
Mercurie, or Hermes.	*Iarbas.*
Æneas.	*Cloanthes.*
	Sergestus.

AT LONDON,
Printed, by the Widdowe *Orwin*, for *Thomas Woodcocke*, and
are to be solde at his shop, in Paules Church-yeard, at
the signe of the blacke Beare. 1594.

The Tragedie of *Dido* Queene *of Carthage.*

[Actus 1. Scena 1.]

Here the Curtaines draw; there is discouered Iupiter *dandling* Ganimed *vpon his knee, and* Mercury *lying asleepe.*

Iup. COme, gentle *Ganimed*, and play with me;
I loue thee well, say *Iuno* what she will.
Gan. I am much better for your worthles loue,
That will not shield me from her shrewish blowes:
5 To day, when as I fild into your cups, [10]
And held the cloath of pleasance whiles you dranke,
She reacht me such a rap for that I spilde,
As made the bloud run downe about mine eares.
Iup. What? dares she strike the darling of my thoughts?
10 By *Saturnes* soule, and this earth threatning haire,
That, shaken thrise, makes Natures buildings quake,
I vow, if she but once frowne on thee more,
To hang her, meteor like, twixt heauen and earth,
And bind her, hand and foote, with golden cordes,
15 As once I did for harming *Hercules*. [20]
Gan. Might I but see that pretie sport a-foote,
O, how would I with *Helens* brother laugh,
And bring the Gods to wonder at the game:
Sweet *Iupiter*, if ere I pleasde thine eye,
20 Or seemed faire, walde in with Egles wings,

Actus 1. Scena 1.] *om. Q*: *In Q and Dyce the play is divided into acts, but not into scenes. All other eds. divide into both.* (See Introductory Note.) S.D. Mercury] *Hermes Dyce, Cun., Bul.* 1 *Line* 4 *Gro.* 10 haire] *Dyce etc.*: aire *Q, Hurst, Rob.* 16 a foote *Q.*

Grace my immortall beautie with this boone,
And I will spend my time in thy bright armes.
Iup. What ist, sweet wagge, I should deny thy youth? |
A 2v Whose face reflects such pleasure to mine eyes,
As I, exhal'd with thy fire darting beames, [30] 25
Haue oft driuen backe the horses of the night,
When as they would haue hal'd thee from my sight:
Sit on my knee, and call for thy content,
Controule proud Fate, and cut the thred of time:
Why, are not all the Gods at thy commaund, 30
And heauen and earth the bounds of thy delight?
Vulcan shall daunce to make thee laughing sport,
And my nine Daughters sing when thou art sad;
From *Iunos* bird Ile pluck her spotted pride,
To make thee fannes wherewith to coole thy face; [40] 35
And *Venus* Swannes shall shed their siluer downe,
To sweeten out the slumbers of thy bed:
Hermes no more shall shew the world his wings,
If that thy fancie in his feathers dwell,
But, as this one, Ile teare them all from him, 40
[*Plucks a feather from Mercury's wings.*]
Doe thou but say, their colour pleaseth me:
Hold here, my little loue, these linked gems, [*Gives jewels.*]
My *Iuno* ware vpon her marriage day,
Put thou about thy necke, my owne sweet heart,
And tricke thy armes and shoulders with my theft. [50] 45
Gan. I would haue a iewell for mine eare,
And a fine brouch to put in my hat,
And then Ile hugge with you an hundred times.
Iup. And shall haue, *Ganimed*, if thou wilt be my loue.

Enter Venus.

Venus. I, this is it, you can sit toying there, 50
And playing with that female wanton boy,

30 Why are *Q.* 32 laughing-sport *Dyce, Bul.* 40 S.D. *Plucks . . . Hermes' wings. Dyce, Cun., Bul.*: *om. Q*: *Plucks one out Gro.* 42 loue; these *Dyce, Bul.* S.D. *Gives jewels.*] *Dyce, Cun., Bul.*: *om. Q*: *Giving them Gro.* 46 have too a *Dyce conj.* 47 in] into *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce.* 49 shalt *Hurst etc. ex. Bul.*

Whiles my *Æneas* wanders on the Seas,
And rests a pray to euery billowes pride.
Iuno, false *Iuno*, in her Chariots pompe, [60]
55 Drawne through the heauens by Steedes of *Boreas* brood,
Made *Hebe* to direct her ayrie wheeles
Into the windie countrie of the clowdes;
Where finding *Æolus*, intrencht with stormes, |
And guarded with a thousand grislie ghosts, A 3
60 She humbly did beseech him for our bane,
And charg'd him drowne my sonne with all his traine.
Then gan the windes breake ope their brazen doores,
And all *Æolia* to be vp in armes:
Poore *Troy* must now be sackt vpon the Sea, [70]
65 And *Neptunes* waues be enuious men of warre;
Epeus horse, to *Ætnas* hill transformd,
Prepared stands to wracke their woodden walles;
And *Æolus*, like *Agamemnon*, sounds
The surges, his fierce souldiers, to the spoyle:
70 See how the night, *Vlysses*-like, comes forth,
And intercepts the day, as *Dolon* erst:
Ay, me! the Starres supprisde, like *Rhesus* Steedes,
Are drawne by darknes forth *Astræus* tents.
What shall I doe to saue thee, my sweet boy? [80]
75 When as the waues doe threat our Chrystall world,
And *Proteus*, raising hils of flouds on high,
Entends ere long to sport him in the skie.
False *Iupiter*, rewardst thou vertue so?
What? is not pietie exempt from woe?
80 Then dye, *Æneas*, in thine innocence,
Since that religion hath no recompence.
Iup. Content thee, *Cytherea*, in thy care,
Since thy *Æneas* wandring fate is firme,
Whose wearie lims shall shortly make repose, [90]
85 In those faire walles I promist him of yore:
But first in bloud must his good fortune bud,

59 ghosts] gusts *Coll. conj.* 67 wreck *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce* [1], *Gro.*
72 Ay] Ah *Hurst, Rob., Cun.* (*and generally in similar cases*).

Before he be the Lord of *Turnus* towne,
Or force her smile, that hetherto hath frownd:
Three winters shall he with the Rutiles warre,
And in the end subdue them with his sword, 90
And full three Sommers likewise shall he waste,
In mannaging those fierce barbarian mindes;
Which once performd, poore *Troy*, so long supprest,
From forth her ashes shall aduance her head, [100]
And flourish once againe, that erst was dead: | 95
A 3v But bright *Ascanius*, beauties better worke,
Who with the Sunne deuides one radiant shape,
Shall build his throne amidst those starrie towers
That earth-borne *Atlas*, groning, vnderprops:
No bounds but heauen shall bound his Emperie, 100
Whose azured gates enchased with his name,
Shall make the morning hast her gray vprise,
To feede her eyes with his engrauen fame.
Thus in stoute *Hectors* race three hundred yeares [110]
The Romane Scepter royall shall remaine, 105
Till that a Princesse priest, conceau'd by *Mars*,
Shall yeeld to dignitie a dubble birth,
Who will eternish *Troy* in their attempts.

Venus. How may I credite these thy flattering termes,
When yet both sea and sands beset their ships, 110
And *Phœbus*, as in stygian pooles, refraines
To taint his tresses in the Tyrrhen maine?

Iup. I will take order for that presently:
Hermes, awake, and haste to *Neptunes* realme, [120]
Whereas the Wind-god, warring now with Fate, 115
Besiege the ofspring of our kingly loynes,
Charge him from me to turne his stormie powers,
And fetter them in *Vulcans* sturdie brasse,
That durst thus proudly wrong our kinsmans peace.

[*Exit Mercury*.]

100 bounds, but heauen, shall *Hurst etc.* 115 wind-gods *Cun.* 116 Besieges th' offspring *Dyce, Bul.* : Besieges the . . . *Gro.* 119 S.D. *Exit Hermes. Dyce, Cun., Bul.* : *om. Q and others.*

120 *Venus*, farewell; thy sonne shall be our care;
Come, *Ganimed*, we must about this geare.
Exeunt Iupiter cum Ganimed.
Venus. Disquiet Seas, lay downe your swelling lookes,
And court *Æneas* with your calmie cheere, [130]
Whose beautious burden well might make you proude,
125 Had not the heauens, conceau'd with hel-borne clowdes,
Vaild his resplendant glorie from your view;
For my sake, pitie him, *Oceanus*,
That erst-while issued from thy watrie loynes,
And had my being from thy bubling froth:
130 *Triton*, I know, hath fild his trumpe with *Troy*,
And therefore will take pitie on his toyle, |
And call both *Thetis* and *Cymothoe* A 4
To succour him in this extremitie. [140]

Enter Æneas, with Ascanius, Achates, and one or two more.

What? doe I see my sonne now come on shoare?
135 *Venus*, how art thou compast with content,
The while thine eyes attract their sought-for ioyes:
Great *Iupiter*, still honourd maist thou be,
For this so friendly ayde in time of neede.
Here in this bush disguised will I stand,
140 Whiles my *Æneas* spends himselfe in plaints,
And heauen and earth with his vnrest acquaints. [150]
Æn. You sonnes of care, companions of my course,
Priams misfortune followes vs by sea,
And *Helens* rape doth haunt ye at the heeles.
145 How many dangers haue we ouer past?
Both barking *Scilla*, and the sounding Rocks,

121 S.D. *Ganimed*.] 'On their going out, we are to suppose that the scene is changed to a wood on the sea-shore.' *Dyce* (*referring to* III. 325–9), *Bul.* 132 *Cymothoe*] *Bul.*, *Gro.*: *Cimodoæ Q*: *Cimodoce Hurst*, *Rob.*, *Dyce*, *Cun.* 133 S.D. *Enter* . . .] *Enter Æneas with Ascanius, with one or two more. Q*: *Achates added by Hurst etc.*: *Enter Æneas, Ascanius, Achates, and others. Dyce*, *Bul.* 134 What! do *Hurst*, *Rob.*: What, do *Dyce*, *Gro.*: What do I see? my *Dyce conj.*, *Cun.*, *Bul.* 136 sought for *Q.* 144 ye] *Dyce*, *Cun.*, *Gro.*: thee *Q*: us *Hurst*, *Rob.*, *Bul.*: *Qv. read* that (ẏ *read as* ẏ)?

The *Cyclops* shelues, and grim *Ceraunias* seate,
Haue you oregone, and yet remaine aliue?
Pluck vp your hearts, since fate still rests our friend,
And chaunging heauens may those good daies returne, 150
Which *Pergama* did vaunt in all her pride. [160]
Acha. Braue Prince of *Troy*, thou onely art our God,
That by thy vertues freest vs from annoy,
And makes our hopes suruiue to coming ioyes:
Doe thou but smile, and clowdie heauen will cleare, 155
Whose night and day descendeth from thy browes:
Though we be now in extreame miserie,
And rest the map of weatherbeaten woe,
Yet shall the aged Sunne shed forth his haire,
To make vs liue vnto our former heate, 160
And euery beast the forrest doth send forth [170]
Bequeath her young ones to our scanted foode.
Asca. Father, I faint; good father, giue me meate. |
A 4v *Æn.* Alas, sweet boy, thou must be still a while,
Till we haue fire to dresse the meate we kild: 165
Gentle *Achates*, reach the Tinder boxe,
That we may make a fire to warme vs with,
And rost our new found victuals on this shoare.
Venus. See what strange arts necessitie findes out;
How neere, my sweet *Æneas*, art thou driuen! 170
Æn. Hold; take this candle and goe light a fire; [180]
You shall haue leaues and windfall bowes enow
Neere to these woods, to rost your meate withall:
Ascanius, goe and drie thy drenched lims,
Whiles I with my *Achates* roaue abroad, 175
To know what coast the winde hath driuen vs on,
Or whether men or beasts inhabite it.
Acha. The ayre is pleasant, and the soyle most fit
For Cities, and societies supports:

147 *Ceranias Q, Gro.* 153 annoys *Dyce conj.* (*for the sake of rime*). 154 mak'st *Hurst etc. ex. Bul.* coming] *Dyce etc.*: cunning *Q, Hurst, Rob.* 159 aged . . . shed] azur'd . . . spread *Coll. conj.* haire] *Mitf. conj., Dyce etc.*: aire *Q.* 170 driuen! S.D. *Aside. Dyce, Cun., Bul.* 175 roaue] roam *Hurst, Rob., Cun.* 177 it. S.D. *Exeunt Ascanius and others. Dyce, Bul.*

180 Yet much I maruell that I cannot finde
No steps of men imprinted in the earth. [190]
Venus. Now is the time for me to play my part:
Hoe, yong men, saw you as you came
Any of all my Sisters wandring here,
185 Hauing a quiuer girded to her side,
And cloathed in a spotted Leopards skin?
Æn. I neither saw nor heard of any such:
But what may I, faire Virgin, call your name?
Whose lookes set forth no mortall forme to view,
190 Nor speech bewraies ought humaine in thy birth;
Thou art a Goddesse that delud'st our eyes, [200]
And shrowdes thy beautie in this borrowd shape:
But whether thou the Sunnes bright Sister be,
Or one of chast *Dianas* fellow Nimphs,
195 Liue happie in the height of all content,
And lighten our extreames with this one boone,
As to instruct vs vnder what good heauen
We breathe as now, and what this world is calde,
On which by tempests furie we are cast: |
200 Tell vs, O, tell vs, that are ignorant; B 1
And this right hand shall make thy Altars crack [210]
With mountaine heapes of milke white Sacrifize.
Venus. Such honour, stranger, doe I not affect:
It is the vse for Turen maides to weare
205 Their bowe and quiuer in this modest sort,
And suite themselues in purple for the nonce,
That they may trip more lightly ore the lawndes,
And ouertake the tusked Bore in chase.
But for the land whereof thou doest enquire,
210 It is the punick kingdome rich and strong,
Adioyning on *Agenors* stately towne, [220]
The kingly seate of Southerne *Libia*,
Whereas Sidonian *Dido* rules as Queene.
But what are you that aske of me these things?

182 part: S.D. *Aside. Dyce, Cun., Bul.* 183 came] came along *Dyce conj., Cun.* 192 shroud'st *Hurst etc. ex. Bul.* 198 as] us *Coll. conj., Gro.*

Whence may you come, or whither will you goe? 215
Æn. Of *Troy* am I, *Æneas* is my name,
Who, driuen by warre from forth my natiue world,
Put sailes to sea to seeke out *Italy*;
And my diuine descent from sceptred *Ioue*:
With twise twelue Phrigian ships I plowed the deepe, 220
And made that way my mother *Venus* led: [230]
But of them all scarce seuen doe anchor safe,
And they so wrackt and weltred by the waues,
As euery tide tilts twixt their oken sides;
And all of them, vnburdened of their loade, 225
Are ballassed with billowes watrie weight.
But haples I, God wot, poore and vnknowne,
Doe trace these Libian deserts all despisde,
Exild forth *Europe* and wide *Asia* both,
And haue not any couerture but heauen. 230
Venus. Fortune hath fauord thee, what ere thou be,
In sending thee vnto this curteous Coast: [241]
A Gods name on, and hast thee to the Court,
Where *Dido* will receiue ye with her smiles:
And for thy ships which thou supposest lost, 235
Not one of them hath perisht in the storme, |
B 1v But are arriued safe not farre from hence:
And so I leaue thee to thy fortunes lot,
Wishing good lucke vnto thy wandring steps. *Exit.*
Æn. Achates, tis my mother that is fled; 240
I know her by the mouings of her feete: [250]
Stay, gentle *Venus*, flye not from thy sonne;
Too cruell, why wilt thou forsake me thus?
Or in these shades deceiu'st mine eye so oft?
Why talke we not together hand in hand, 245
And tell our griefes in more familiar termes?
But thou art gone, and leau'st me here alone,
To dull the ayre with my discoursiue moane. *Exeunt.*

223 wreck'd *Dyce*², *Bul.* 244 shades] shapes *Cun. conj.* deceive *Cun.* eyes *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 245 talke] walk *Cun.* 248 S.D. *Exeunt.*] *Hurst etc. ex. Bul.*: *Exit. Q*: *om. Bul.*

[Scena 2.]

Enter Iarbas, followed by Illioneus, Cloanthus and Sergestus.

Illio. Follow, ye Troians, follow this braue Lord,
250 And plaine to him the summe of your distresse. [260]
Iar. Why, what are you, or wherefore doe you sewe?
Illio. Wretches of *Troy*, enuied of the windes,
That craue such fauour at your honors feete,
As poore distressed miserie may pleade:
255 Saue, saue, O, saue our ships from cruell fire,
That doe complaine the wounds of thousand waues;
And spare our liues, whom euery spite pursues.
We come not, we, to wrong your Libian Gods,
Or steale your houshold lares from their shrines:
260 Our hands are not prepar'd to lawles spoyle, [270]
Nor armed to offend in any kind:
Such force is farre from our vnweaponed thoughts,
Whose fading weale, of victorie forsooke,
Forbids all hope to harbour neere our hearts.
265 *Iar.* But tell me, Troians, Troians if you be,
Vnto what fruitfull quarters were ye bound,
Before that *Boreas* buckled with your sailes?
Cloan. There is a place, *Hesperia* term'd by vs,
An ancient Empire, famoused for armes,
270 And fertile in faire *Ceres* furrowed wealth, | [280]
Which now we call *Italia*, of his name B 2
That in such peace long time did rule the same:
Thither made we;
When suddenly gloomie *Orion* rose,
275 And led our ships into the shallow sands,
Whereas the Southerne winde with brackish breath
Disperst them all amongst the wrackfull Rockes:
From thence a fewe of vs escapt to land;

Scena 2.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q*: 'Scene, within the walls of Carthage.' *Dyce*: 'Carthage' *Bul.*: *Qy.* Before the walls of Carthage, or same as last scene.? S.D. *Enter* . . .] *Hurst etc.*: . . . *Sergestus and others. Dyce, Bul.*: *Enter Illioneus, and Cloanthes. Q.* 249 *Line* 253 *Gro.* 277 wreckful *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*[1], *Gro.*

The rest, we feare, are foulded in the flouds.
Iar. Braue men at armes, abandon fruitles feares, [290] 280
Since Carthage knowes to entertaine distresse.
Serg. I, but the barbarous sort doe threat our ships,
And will not let vs lodge vpon the sands:
In multitudes they swarme vnto the shoare,
And from the first earth interdict our feete. 285
Iar. My selfe will see they shall not trouble ye;
Your men and you shall banquet in our Court,
And euery Troian be as welcome here,
As *Iupiter* to sillie *Baucis* house:
Come in with me, Ile bring you to my Queene, [300] 290
Who shall confirme my words with further deedes.
Serg. Thankes, gentle Lord, for such vnlookt for grace;
Might we but once more see *Æneas* face,
Then would we hope to quite such friendly turnes,
As shall surpasse the wonder of our speech. 295

Actus 2. [Scena 1.]

Enter Æneas, Achates, and Ascanius.

Æn. Where am I now? these should be Carthage walles.
Acha. Why stands my sweete *Æneas* thus amazde?
Æn. O my *Achates*, Theban *Niobe*, [310]
Who for her sonnes death wept out life and breath,
And, drie with griefe, was turnd into a stone, 5
Had not such passions in her head as I.
Me thinkes that towne there should be *Troy*, yon *Idas* hill,

289 *Baucis*] *Hurst etc.*: *Vausis Q.* 290 you] ye *Bul.* 295 shall] all *Dyce*[2] *conj.*: *Qy. read* still? Scena 1.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q.* S.D. *Enter* . . .] *Enter Æneas, Achates, Ascanius, and others. Dyce, Bul.* 'Scene, Juno's temple at Carthage.' *Bul.*: The reference to the servitors in l. 70 'shows that the scene was in the hall of Dido's palace, and before it, as seems also shown by the statue, which Æneas takes to be that of Priam, Æneas being first in the foreground. Neither is there any necessity for Dyce's supposition [*cf. l.* 70 *note*] of a change of scene in the middle of a scene.' *Gro.* (p. 238). 1 *Line* 301 *Gro.* 7 Methinks that should be Troy; yon, Ida's hill, *Mitf. conj.* that towne . . .] *As new line, Dyce, Cun., Bul.*

There *Zanthus* streame, because here's *Priamus*, |
And when I know it is not, then I dye. B 2v
10 *Acha.* And in this humor is *Achates* to:
I cannot choose but fall vpon my knees,
And kisse his hand: O, where is *Hecuba*?
Here she was wont to sit, but, sauing ayre, [320]
Is nothing here; and what is this but stone?
15 *Æn.* O, yet this stone doth make *Æneas* weepe;
And would my prayers (as *Pigmalions* did)
Could giue it life, that vnder his conduct
We might saile backe to *Troy*, and be reuengde
On these hard harted Grecians, which reioyce
20 That nothing now is left of *Priamus*:
O, *Priamus* is left, and this is he;
Come, come abourd, pursue the hatefull Greekes.
Acha. What meanes *Æneas*? [330]
Æn. *Achates*, though mine eyes say this is stone,
25 Yet thinkes my minde that this is *Priamus*:
And when my grieued heart sighes and sayes no,
Then would it leape out to giue *Priam* life:
O, were I not at all, so thou mightst be.
Achates, see, King *Priam* wags his hand;
30 He is aliue, *Troy* is not ouercome.
Acha. Thy mind, *Æneas*, that would haue it so,
Deludes thy eye sight; *Priamus* is dead.
Æn. Ah, *Troy* is sackt, and *Priamus* is dead; [340]
And why should poore *Æneas* be aliue?
35 *Asca.* Sweete father, leaue to weepe, this is not he:
For, were it *Priam*, he would smile on me.
Acha. *Æneas*, see, here come the Citizens:
Leaue to lament, lest they laugh at our feares.

Enter Cloanthus, Sergestus, Illioneus and others.

Æn. Lords of this towne, or whatsoeuer stile

8 *Priamus*, S.D. *pointing to a statue Gro.* 10 *Ach. Q.* 31 *Ach. Q.* 37 comes *Cun.* 38 feares] tears *Coll., Bul. conj.* S.D. *and others.*] *Dyce (referring to l. 58), Bul., Gro.*: *om. Q*: *and the others. Cun.*

Belongs vnto your name, vouchsafe of ruth 40
To tell vs who inhabits this faire towne,
What kind of people, and who gouernes them : | [350]
B 3 For we are strangers driuen on this shore,
And scarcely know within what Clime we are.
Illio. I heare *Æneas* voyce, but see him not, 45
For none of these can be our Generall.
Acha. Like *Illioneus* speakes this Noble man,
But *Illioneus* goes not in such robes.
Serg. You are *Achates*, or I am deciu'd.
Acha. *Æneas*, see *Sergestus* or his ghost. 50
Illio. He names *Æneas* ; let vs kisse his feete.
Cloan. It is our Captain, see *Ascanius*. [360]
Serg. Liue long *Æneas* and *Ascanius*.
Æn. *Achates*, speake, for I am ouerioyed.
Acha. O *Illioneus*, art thou yet aliue? 55
Illio. Blest be the time I see *Achates* face.
Cloan. Why turnes *Æneas* from his trustie friends?
Æn. *Sergestus*, *Illioneus*, and the rest,
Your sight amazde me: O, what destinies
Haue brought my sweete companions in such plight? 60
O, tell me, for I long to be resolu'd.
Illio. Louely *Æneas*, these are Carthage walles, [370]
And here Queene *Dido* weares th' imperiall Crowne,
Who for *Troyes* sake hath entertaind vs all,
And clad vs in these wealthie robes we weare. 65
Oft hath she askt vs vnder whom we seru'd,
And when we told her, she would weepe for griefe,
Thinking the sea had swallowed vp thy ships;
And now she sees thee, how will she reioyce!
Serg. See, where her seruitors passe through the
hall, 70
Bearing a banket; *Dido* is not farre.

49 am] *Dyce etc.*: *om.* *Q*, *Hurst*, *Rob.* 50 see, Sergestus, or *Dyce*, *Bul.* 51 names] *Hurst etc.*: meanes *Q*. 52 see, Ascanius *Dyce*. 66 hath] has *Cun.* 70 hall] 'Here, or at any rate, a little after, a change of scene is supposed,—to the hall of Dido's palace.' *Dyce*, *Bul.*

Illio. Looke where she comes: *Æneas*, view her well.
Æn. Well may I view her, but she sees not me. [381]

Enter Dido, Anna, and Iarbas, traine.

Dido. What stranger art thou that doest eye me thus?
75 *Æn.* Sometime I was a Troian, mightie Queene;
But *Troy* is not: what shall I say I am? |
Illio. Renowmed *Dido*, tis our Generall, B 3ᵛ
Warlike *Æneas.*
Dido. Warlike *Æneas*, and in these base robes?
80 Goe fetch the garment which *Sicheus* ware:
Braue Prince, welcome to Carthage and to me,
Both happie that *Æneas* is our guest: [390]
Sit in this chaire and banquet with a Queene;
Æneas is *Æneas*, were he clad
85 In weedes as bad as euer *Irus* ware.
Æn. This is no seate for one thats comfortles:
May it please your grace to let *Æneas* waite;
For though my birth be great, my fortunes meane,
Too meane to be companion to a Queene.
90 *Dido.* Thy fortune may be greater then thy birth:
Sit downe, *Æneas*, sit in *Didos* place,
And if this be thy sonne, as I suppose, [400]
Here let him sit: be merrie, louely child.
Æn. This place beseemes me not; O, pardon me.
95 *Dido.* Ile haue it so, *Æneas*, be content.
Asca. Madame, you shall be my mother.
Dido. And so I will, sweete child: be merrie, man,
Heres to thy better fortune and good starres. [*Drinks.*]
Æn. In all humilitie, I thanke your grace.
100 *Dido.* Remember who thou art, speake like thy selfe;
Humilitie belongs to common groomes.

72 view] *Hurst etc.*: viewd *Q.* 73 S.D. *Enter* . . .] *Dyce, Bul.*: *Enter Dido and her traine. Q, Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: . . . *with Iarbas. Gro.* 78 Warlike *Æneas.*] *As separate line, Dyce, Bul. Run on to preceding line, Q, Hurst, Rob., Cun., Gro.*: warlike *Q.* 80 ware: S.D. *Exit an Attendant who brings in the garment, which Æneas puts on. Dyce, Bul.* 98 S.D. *Drinks.*] *Dyce etc.*

Æn. And who so miserable as *Æneas* is? [410]
Dido. Lyes it in *Didos* hands to make thee blest,
Then be assured thou art not miserable.
Æn. O *Priamus*, O *Troy*, oh *Hecuba*! 105
Dido. May I entreate thee to discourse at large,
And truely to, how *Troy* was ouercome?
For many tales goe of that Cities fall,
And scarcely doe agree vpon one poynt:
Some say *Antenor* did betray the towne, 110
Others report twas *Sinons* periurie:
But all in this, that *Troy* is ouercome, [420]
And *Priam* dead; yet how, we heare no newes.
Æn. A wofull tale bids *Dido* to vnfould, |
B 4 Whose memorie, like pale deaths stony mace, 115
Beates forth my senses from this troubled soule,
And makes *Æneas* sinke at *Didos* feete.
Dido. What, faints *Æneas* to remember *Troy*,
In whose defence he fought so valiantly?
Look vp, and speake. 120
Æn. Then speake, *Æneas*, with *Achilles* tongue;
And *Dido*, and you Carthaginian Peeres, [430]
Hear me; but yet with *Mirmidons* harsh eares,
Daily inur'd to broyles and Massacres,
Lest you be mou'd too much with my sad tale. 125
The Grecian souldiers, tired with ten yeares warre,
Began to crye, let vs vnto our ships,
Troy is inuincible, why stay we here?
With whose outcryes *Atrides* being apal'd,
Summoned the Captaines to his princely tent: 130
Who, looking on the scarres we Troians gaue,
Seeing the number of their men decreast, [440]
And the remainder weake and out of heart,
Gaue vp their voyces to dislodge the Campe,
And so in troopes all marcht to *Tenedos*; 135
Where, when they came, *Vlysses* on the sand
Assayd with honey words to turne them backe:

103 blest? *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.*

And as he spoke, to further his entent,
The windes did driue huge billowes to the shoare,
140 And heauen was darkned with tempestuous clowdes:
Then he alleag'd the Gods would haue them stay,
And prophecied *Troy* should be ouercome: [450]
And therewithall he calde false *Sinon* forth,
A man compact of craft and periurie,
145 Whose ticing tongue was made of *Hermes* pipe,
To force an hundred watchfull eyes to sleepe:
And him, *Epeus* hauing made the horse,
With sacrificing wreathes vpon his head,
Vlysses sent to our vnhappie towne:
150 Who, groueling in the mire of *Zanthus* bankes,
His hands bound at his backe, and both his eyes |
Turnd vp to heauen, as one resolu'd to dye, [460] B 4v
Our Phrigian shepherds haled within the gates,
And brought vnto the Court of *Priamus*;
155 To whom he vsed action so pitifull,
Lookes so remorcefull, vowes so forcible,
As therewithall the old man ouercome,
Kist him, imbrast him, and vnloosde his bands,
And then: O *Dido*, pardon me.
160 *Dido.* Nay, leaue not here; resolue me of the rest.
Æn. O, th' inchaunting words of that base slaue
Made him to thinke *Epeus* pine-tree Horse [470]
A sacrifize t'appease *Mineruas* wrath:
The rather for that one *Laocoon*,
165 Breaking a speare vpon his hollow breast,
Was with two winged Serpents stung to death.
Whereat agast, we were commanded straight,
With reuerence to draw it into *Troy*.
In which vnhappie worke was I employd;
170 These hands did helpe to hale it to the gates,
Through which it could not enter, twas so huge.
O, had it neuer entred, *Troy* had stood. [480]
But *Priamus*, impatient of delay,

153 shepherds] *Hurst etc.*: shepherd *Q.* 161 th'] the *Hurst etc. ex. Bul.*

Inforst a wide breach in that rampierd wall,
Which thousand battering Rams could neuer pierce, 175
And so came in this fatall instrument:
At whose accursed feete, as ouerioyed,
We banquetted, till, ouercome with wine,
Some surfetted, and others soundly slept.
Which *Sinon* viewing, causde the Greekish spyes 180
To hast to *Tenedos* and tell the Campe:
Then he vnlockt the Horse, and suddenly [490]
From out his entrailes, *Neoptolemus*,
Setting his speare vpon the ground, leapt forth,
And after him a thousand Grecians more, 185
In whose sterne faces shin'd the quenchles fire,
That after burnt the pride of *Asia*.
By this the Campe was come vnto the walles, |
C 1 And through the breach did march into the streetes,
Where, meeting with the rest, kill, kill, they cryed. 190
Frighted with this confused noyse, I rose,
And, looking from a turret, might behold [500]
Yong infants swimming in their parents bloud,
Headles carkasses piled vp in heapes,
Virgins halfe dead, dragged by their golden haire, 195
And with maine force flung on a ring of pikes,
Old men with swords thrust through their aged sides,
Kneeling for mercie to a Greekish lad,
Who with steele Pol-axes dasht out their braines.
Then buckled I mine armour, drew my sword, 200
And thinking to goe downe, came *Hectors* ghost,
With ashie visage, blewish sulphure eyes, [510]
His armes torne from his shoulders, and his breast
Furrowd with wounds, and, that which made me weepe,
Thongs at his heeles, by which *Achilles* horse 205
Drew him in triumph through the Greekish Campe,
Burst from the earth, crying, *Æneas*, flye,
Troy is a-fire, the Grecians haue the towne.

Dido. O *Hector*, who weepes not to heare thy name?

201–2 ghost: With *Gro*. 208 a fire *Q*.

210 *Æn.* Yet flung I forth, and, desperate of my life,
Ran in the thickest throngs, and with this sword
Sent many of their sauadge ghosts to hell. [520]
At last came *Pirrhus*, fell and full of ire,
His harnesse dropping bloud, and on his speare
215 The mangled head of *Priams* yongest sonne;
And, after him, his band of Mirmidons,
With balles of wilde fire in their murdering pawes,
Which made the funerall flame that burnt faire *Troy*:
All which hemd me about, crying, this is he.
220 *Dido.* Ah, how could poore *Æneas* scape their hands?
Æn. My mother *Venus*, iealous of my health,
Conuaid me from their crooked nets and bands; [530]
So I escapt the furious *Pirrhus* wrath:
Who then ran to the pallace of the King,
225 And at *Ioues* Altar finding *Priamus*, |
About whose withered necke hung *Hecuba*, C 1v
Foulding his hand in hers, and ioyntly both
Beating their breasts, and falling on the ground,
He, with his faulchions poynt raisde vp at once,
230 And with *Megeras* eyes, stared in their face,
Threatning a thousand deaths at euery glaunce.
To whom the aged King thus, trembling, spoke: [540]
Achilles sonne, remember what I was,
Father of fiftie sonnes, but they are slaine;
235 Lord of my fortune, but my fortunes turnd;
King of this Citie, but my *Troy* is fired;
And now am neither father, Lord, nor King:
Yet who so wretched but desires to liue?
O, let me liue, great *Neoptolemus*.
240 Not mou'd at all, but smiling at his teares,
This butcher, whil'st his hands were yet held vp,
Treading vpon his breast, strooke off his hands. [550]
Dido. O, end, *Æneas*, I can heare no more.
Æn. At which the franticke Queene leapt on his face,
245 And in his eyelids hanging by the nayles,
A little while prolong'd her husbands life:

At last the souldiers puld her by the heeles,
And swong her howling in the emptie ayre,
Which sent an eccho to the wounded King:
Whereat he lifted vp his bedred lims, 250
And would haue grappeld with *Achilles* sonne,
Forgetting both his want of strength and hands; [560]
Which he disdaining, whiskt his sword about,
And with the wind thereof the King fell downe:
Then from the nauell to the throat at once 255
He ript old *Priam*; at whose latter gaspe
Ioues marble statue gan to bend the brow,
As lothing *Pirrhus* for this wicked act:
Yet he, vndaunted, tooke his fathers flagge
And dipt it in the old Kings chill cold bloud, 260
And then in triumph ran into the streetes, [569]
Through which he could not passe for slaughtred men: |
C 2 So, leaning on his sword, he stood stone still,
Viewing the fire wherewith rich *Ilion* burnt.
By this, I got my father on my backe, 265
This yong boy in mine armes, and by the hand
Led faire *Creusa*, my beloued wife;
When thou, *Achates*, with thy sword mad'st way,
And we were round inuiron'd with the Greekes:
O, there I lost my wife: and had not we 270
Fought manfully, I had not told this tale:
Yet manhood would not serue; of force we fled; [580]
And as we went vnto our ships, thou knowest
We sawe *Cassandra* sprauling in the streetes,
Whom *Aiax* rauisht in *Dianas* Fane, 275
Her cheekes swolne with sighes, her haire all rent:
Whom I tooke vp to beare vnto our ships;
But suddenly the Grecians followed vs,
And I, alas, was forst to let her lye.
Then got we to our ships, and, being abourd, 280

254 wind] *Coll. conj.* (*Hist. Eng. Dr. P.* iii, 47), *Dyce etc.*: wound *Q.* 273 know'st *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.*: knowest S.D. *to Achates Gro.* 275 Fane] *Hurst etc.*: Fawne *Q.*

Polixena cryed out, *Æneas*, stay,
The Greekes pursue me; stay, and take me in. [590]
Moued with her voyce, I lept into the sea,
Thinking to beare her on my backe abourd:
285 For all our ships were launcht into the deepe,
And, as I swomme, she, standing on the shoare,
Was by the cruell Mirmidons surprizd,
And after by that *Pirrhus* sacrifizde.
Dido. I dye with melting ruth; *Æneas*, leaue.
290 *Anna.* O, what became of aged *Hecuba*?
Iar. How got *Æneas* to the fleete againe? [599]
Dido. But how scapt *Helen*, she that causde this warre?
Æn. *Achates*, speake; sorrow hath tired me quite.
Acha. What happened to the Queene we cannot shewe;
295 We heare they led her captiue into Greece:
As for *Æneas*, he swomme quickly backe;
And *Helena* betraied *Deiphobus*,
Her Louer, after *Alexander* dyed,
And so was reconcil'd to *Menelaus*. |
300 *Dido.* O, had that ticing strumpet nere been borne! C 2v
Troian, thy ruthfull tale hath made me sad:
Come, let us thinke vpon some pleasing sport, [610]
To rid me from these melancholly thoughts.
Exeunt omnes.

Enter Venus and Cupid at another doore, Venus takes Ascanius by the sleeue.

Venus. Faire child, stay thou with *Didos* waiting maide,
305 Ile giue thee Sugar-almonds, sweete Conserues,
A siluer girdle, and a golden purse,
And this yong Prince shall be thy playfellow.

288 And, after that, by *Dyce*[1] *conj.*, *Dyce*[2], *Bul.*, *Gro.* (*omitting commas*). 297 *Deiphobus*] *Hurst etc.*: *Dũphobus* (?) *Q.* (*The reading of the Q is given as 'Diiphobus' by Gro. It is difficult to say with certainty which it actually is.*) 303 S.D. *Exeunt omnes.*] *Exeunt all except Ascanius, whom Venus, entering with Cupid at another door, takes by the sleeve as he is going off. Dyce, Bul.* S.D. *Enter . . .*] *Enter Venus at another doore, and takes Ascanius by the sleeue. Q*: *Enter Venus and Cupid, Venus takes Ascanius by the sleeve. Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: *Enter Venus, with Cupid, at . . . Gro. Combined with the exit-direction, as above, Dyce, Bul.*

Asca. Are you Queene *Didos* sonne?
Cupid. I, and my mother gaue me this fine bow. [620]
Asca. Shall I haue such a quiuer and a bow? 310
Venus. Such bow, such quiuer, and such golden shafts,
Will *Dido* giue to sweete *Ascanius*:
For *Didos* sake I take thee in my armes,
And sticke these spangled feathers in thy hat;
Eate Comfites in mine armes, and I will sing. [*Sings.*] 315
Now is he fast asleepe, and in this groue
Amongst greene brakes Ile lay *Ascanius*,
And strewe him with sweete smelling Violets,
Blushing Roses, purple *Hyacinthe*: [630]
These milke white Doues shall be his Centronels; 320
Who, if that any seeke to doe him hurt,
Will quickly flye to *Cythereas* fist.
Now *Cupid*, turne thee to *Ascanius* shape,
And goe to *Dido*, who, in stead of him,
Will set thee on her lap, and play with thee: 325
Then touch her white breast with this arrow head,
That she may dote vpon *Æneas* loue;
And by that meanes repaire his broken ships,
Victuall his Souldiers, giue him wealthie gifts, [640]
And he at last depart to *Italy*, 330
Or els in *Carthage* make his kingly throne. |
C 3 *Cupid.* I will, faire mother, and so play my part
As euery touch shall wound Queene *Didos* heart.
Venus. Sleepe, my sweete nephew, in these cooling shades,
Free from the murmure of these running streames, 335
The crye of beasts, the ratling of the windes,
Or whisking of these leaues; all shall be still,
And nothing interrupt thy quiet sleepe,
Till I returne, and take thee hence againe. *Exeunt.* [650]

315 S.D. *Sings.*] *Dyce, Bul., Gro.*: *om. Q and others.* 'After the song, the scene is supposed to be changed to a grove.' *Dyce*: 'We must suppose that Venus had borne the sleeping Ascanius to Cythera or Cyprus.' *Bul.* 319 With blushing *Mitf. conj., Cun.* hyacinths *Dyce, Cun.* 322 *Cythereas*] *Hurst etc.*: *Citheidas Q.* 333 heart. S.D. *Exit. Dyce, Cun., Bul.* 339 S.D. *Exeunt.*] *Hurst, Rob., Gro.*: *Exit. Q, Dyce, Cun., Bul.*

Actus 3. Scena 1.

Enter Cupid solus, as Ascanius.

Cupid. Now, *Cupid*, cause the Carthaginian Queene
To be inamourd of thy brothers lookes:
Conuey this golden arrowe in thy sleeue,
Lest she imagine thou art *Venus* sonne:
5 And when she strokes thee softly on the head,
Then shall I touch her breast and conquer her.

Enter Iarbas, Anna, and Dido.

Iar. How long, faire *Dido*, shall I pine for thee? [660]
Tis not enough that thou doest graunt me loue,
But that I may enioy what I desire:
10 That loue is childish which consists in words.
Dido. Iarbas, know that thou of all my wooers
(And yet haue I had many mightier Kings)
Hast had the greatest fauours I could giue:
I feare me, *Dido* hath been counted light,
15 In being too familiar with *Iarbas*:
Albeit the Gods doe know, no wanton thought
Had euer residence in *Didos* breast. [670]
Iar. But *Dido* is the fauour I request.
Dido. Feare not, *Iarbas*; *Dido* may be thine.
20 *Anna.* Looke, sister, how *Æneas* little sonne
Playes with your garments and imbraceth you.
Cupid. No, *Dido* will not take me in her armes; |
I shall not be her sonne, she loues me not. C 3v.
Dido. Weepe not, sweet boy, thou shalt be *Didos* sonne;
25 Sit in my lap, and let me heare thee sing. [*Cupid sings.*]
No more, my child, now talke another while,
And tell me, where learnst thou this pretie song? [680]

S.D. *Enter* . . .] *Gro*: *Enter Cupid solus. Q*: *Enter Cupid. Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: *Enter Cupid as Ascanius. Dyce, Bul.* 'Scene, a hall in Dido's palace.' *Dyce*: '. . . a room in . . .' *Bul.* 1 *Line* 640 *Gro.* 6 S.D. *Enter Dido, Anna, and Iarbas. Dyce, Bul. Iarbus Q* (*and so throughout the play*). 25 S.D. *Cupid sings.*] *Hurst etc.* 27 tell me where . . . song. *Hurst etc.*: . . . song? *Q.* learnd'st *Dyce, Cun., Bul.*

Cupid. My cosin *Helen* taught it me in *Troy*.
Dido. How louely is *Ascanius* when he smiles!
Cupid. Will *Dido* let me hang about her necke? 30
Dido. I, wagge, and giue thee leaue to kisse her to.
Cupid. What will you giue me? now Ile haue this Fanne.
Dido. Take it, *Ascanius*, for thy fathers sake.
Iar. Come, *Dido*, leaue *Ascanius*; let vs walke.
Dido. Goe thou away; *Ascanius* shall stay. 35
Iar. Vngentle Queene, is this thy loue to me?
Dido. O, stay, *Iarbas*, and Ile goe with thee. [690]
Cupid. And if my mother goe, Ile follow her.
Dido. Why staiest thou here? thou art no loue of mine.
Iar. Iarbas, dye, seeing she abandons thee. 40
Dido. No, liue, *Iarbas*; what hast thou deseru'd,
That I should say thou art no loue of mine?
Something thou hast deseru'd: away, I say,
Depart from *Carthage*; come not in my sight.
Iar. Am I not King of rich *Getulia*? 45
Dido. Iarbas, pardon me, and stay a while.
Cupid. Mother, looke here. [700]
Dido. What telst thou me of rich *Getulia*?
Am not I Queene of *Libia*? then depart.
Iar. I goe to feed the humour of my Loue, 50
Yet not from *Carthage* for a thousand worlds.
Dido. Iarbas.
Iar. Doth *Dido* call me backe?
Dido. No, but I charge thee neuer looke on me.
Iar. Then pull out both mine eyes, or let me dye.
Exit Iarb.
Anna. Wherefore doth *Dido* bid *Iarbas* goe? 55
Dido. Because his lothsome sight offends mine eye, [710]
And in my thoughts is shrin'd another loue:
O *Anna*, didst thou know how sweet loue were, |

32 me now? *Dyce, Bul.* 38 And] An *Dyce*², *Bul.* 50 goe, to *Gro.* 54 S.D. *Exit. Dyce, Bul.* 56 eyes *Cun.* 57 loue] *Dyce, Cun., Bul.*: Ioue *Q, Hurst, Rob., Gro.*

Full soone wouldst thou abiure this single life. C 4

60 *Anna.* Poore soule, I know too well the sower of loue:
O, that *Iarbas* could but fancie me!
Dido. Is not *Æneas* faire and beautifull?
Anna. Yes, and *Iarbas* foule and fauourles.
Dido. Is he not eloquent in all his speech?
65 *Anna.* Yes, and *Iarbas* rude and rusticall.
Dido. Name not *Iarbas*; but, sweete *Anna*, say, [720]
Is not *Æneas* worthie *Didos* loue?
Anna. O sister, were you Empresse of the world,
Æneas well deserues to be your loue:
70 So louely is he that, where ere he goes,
The people swarme to gaze him in the face.
Dido. But tell them, none shall gaze on him but I,
Lest their grosse eye-beames taint my louers cheekes:
Anna, good sister *Anna*, goe for him,
75 Lest with these sweete thoughts I melt cleane away.
Anna. Then, sister, youle abiure *Iarbas* loue? [730]
Dido. Yet must I heare that lothsome name againe?
Runne for *Æneas*, or Ile flye to him. *Exit Anna.*
Cupid. You shall not hurt my father when he comes.
80 *Dido.* No, for thy sake, Ile loue thy father well.
O dull conceipted *Dido*, that till now
Didst neuer thinke *Æneas* beautifull:
But now, for quittance of this ouersight,
Ile make me bracelets of his golden haire;
85 His glistering eyes shall be my looking glasse;
His lips an altar, where Ile offer vp [740]
As many kisses as the Sea hath sands:
In stead of musicke I will heare him speake;
His lookes shall be my only Librarie;
90 And thou, *Æneas*, *Didos* treasurie,
In whose faire bosome I will locke more wealth
Then twentie thousand Indiaes can affoord:
O, here he comes; loue, loue, giue *Dido* leaue
To be more modest then her thoughts admit,
95 Lest I be made a wonder to the world. |

[*Enter Achates, Sergestus, Illioneus, Cloanthus, and Æneas last.*]

C 4v *Achates*, how doth *Carthage* please your Lord? [750]
Acha. That will *Æneas* shewe your maiestie.
Dido. *Æneas*, art thou there?
Æn. I vnderstand your highnesse sent for me.
Dido. No, but now thou art here, tell me in sooth 100
In what might *Dido* highly pleasure thee.
Æn. So much haue I receiu'd at *Didos* hands,
As, without blushing, I can aske no more:
Yet, Queene of *Affricke*, are my ships vnrigd,
My Sailes all rent in sunder with the winde, 105
My Oares broken, and my Tackling lost, [760]
Yea, all my Nauie split with Rockes and Shelfes:
Nor Sterne nor Anchor haue our maimed Fleete;
Our Masts the furious windes strooke ouer bourd:
Which piteous wants if *Dido* will supplie, 110
We will account her author of our liues.
Dido. *Æneas*, Ile repaire thy Troian ships,
Conditionally that thou wilt stay with me,
And let *Achates* saile to *Italy*:
Ile giue thee tackling made of riueld gold, 115
Wound on the barkes of odoriferous trees, [770]
Oares of massie Iuorie, full of holes,
Through which the water shall delight to play:
Thy Anchors shall be hewed from Christall Rockes,
Which, if thou lose, shall shine aboue the waues: 120
The Masts, whereon thy swelling sailes shall hang,
Hollow Pyramides of siluer plate:
The sailes of foulded Lawne, where shall be wrought
The warres of *Troy*, but not *Troyes* ouerthrow:
For ballace, emptie *Didos* treasurie; 125

95 S.D. *Enter* . . .] *Gro.* (*with note* 'Æneas must enter last. See Dido's address to Achates, not seeing, or affecting not to see Æneas, as shown by her question.'): *om. Q*: *Enter Æneas, Achates, Sergestus, Ilioneus, and Cloanthus. Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 115 gold, S.D. *To Achates Gro.* (*referring to ll.* 127–8). 120 lose] loose *Cun.*

Take what ye will, but leaue *Æneas* here. [780]
Achates, thou shalt be so meanly clad,
As Seaborne Nymphes shall swarme about thy ships,
And wanton Mermaides court thee with sweete songs,
130 Flinging in fauours of more soueraigne worth
Then *Thetis* hangs about *Apolloes* necke,
So that *Æneas* may but stay with me. |
Æn. Wherefore would *Dido* haue *Æneas* stay? D 1
Dido. To warre against my bordering enemies.
135 *Æneas*, thinke not *Dido* is in loue;
For if that any man could conquer me, [790]
I had been wedded ere *Æneas* came:
See where the pictures of my suiters hang;
And are not these as faire as faire may be?
140 *Acha.* I saw this man at *Troy*, ere *Troy* was sackt.
Æn. I this in *Greece*, when *Paris* stole faire *Helen.*
Illio. This man and I were at *Olympus* games.
Serg. I know this face; he is a Persian borne:
I traueld with him to *Ætolia.*
145 *Cloan.* And I in *Athens* with this gentleman,
Vnlesse I be deceiu'd, disputed once. [800]
Dido. But speake, *Æneas*; know you none of these?
Æn. No, Madame; but it seemes that these are Kings.
Dido. All these, and others which I neuer sawe,
150 Haue been most vrgent suiters for my loue;
Some came in person, others sent their Legats,
Yet none obtaind me; I am free from all;
And yet, God knowes, intangled vnto one.
This was an Orator, and thought by words
155 To compasse me; but yet he was deceiu'd:
And this a Spartan Courtier, vaine and wilde; [810]
But his fantastick humours pleasde not me:

127 meanly] *Q, Hurst, Rob., Gro.*: Meantime, Achates, thou shalt be so clad *Mitf. conj.* (*in Dyce*[1]): meetly *Dyce conj.*: newly *Coll. conj., Cun.*: seemly *Dyce, Bul.* 141 *Æn.*] *Serg. Dyce*[2] (*referring to l.* 147): A Lord *Gro.* 'We may suppose that Dido is there [in l. 147] calling Æneas' attention to another set of pictures on the opposite side of the stage.' *Bul.* 142 Olympia's *Dyce, Cun., Bul.*

This was *Alcion*, a Musition;
But, playd he nere so sweet, I let him goe:
This was the wealthie King of *Thessaly*; 160
But I had gold enough, and cast him off:
This, *Meleagers* sonne, a warlike Prince;
But weapons gree not with my tender yeares:
The rest are such as all the world well knowes;
Yet now I sweare by heauen and him I loue, 165
I was as farre from loue as they from hate. [820]
Æn. O, happie shall he be whom *Dido* loues.
Dido. Then neuer say that thou art miserable,
Because it may be thou shalt be my loue: |
D 1v Yet boast not of it, for I loue thee not; 170
And yet I hate thee not: O, if I speake
I shall betray my selfe: *Æneas*, speake:
We two will goe a hunting in the woods;
But not so much for thee, thou art but one,
As for *Achates*, and his followers. *Exeunt.* 175

[Scena 2.]

Enter Iuno to Ascanius asleepe. [830]

Iuno. Here lyes my hate, *Æneas* cursed brat,
The boy wherein false destinie delights,
The heire of furie, the fauorite of the fates,
That vgly impe that shall outweare my wrath,
And wrong my deitie with high disgrace: 180
But I will take another order now,
And race th'eternall Register of time:
Troy shall no more call him her second hope,

163 greed *Gro.* 165 now] *Dyce, Bul., Gro.*: how *Q*: here *Hurst, Rob., Cun.* 172 speake] come *or* hark *Dyce*[1] *conj.* (speak *caught from preceding line*): come *Dyce*[2], *Bul.* myself! S.D. *Aside. Dyce*[1], *Cun.* *Qy. read* my selfe: Æneas—*Æn.* Speake! *Dido.* We two . . . ? Scena 2.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q.* 'Scene, a grove.' *Dyce, Bul.* S.D. *asleepe.*] *who lies asleep. Dyce, Bul.* 176 *Line* 815 *Gro.* 178 Heir of the Furies, *Deigh. conj.* furie] Troy *Cun.*: furies, *Gro.*: Fury, favourite *Mitf. conj.* *In a copy of Rob.* (*B.M.* 11771. d. 4) *is a MS. note that Q reads* The heir of Fame. fates] *Hurst etc.*: face *Q.* 182 race] raze *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* th'] the *Cun.*

Nor *Venus* triumph in his tender youth;
185 For here, in spight of heauen, Ile murder him, [840]
And feede infection with his let out life:
Say, *Paris*, now shall *Venus* haue the ball?
Say, vengeance, now shall her *Ascanius* dye?
O no, God wot, I cannot watch my time,
190 Nor quit good turnes with double fee downe told:
Tut, I am simple, without mind to hurt,
And haue no gall at all to grieue my foes:
But lustfull *Ioue* and his adulterous child
Shall finde it written on confusions front,
195 That onely *Iuno* rules in *Rhamnuse* towne. [850]

Enter Venus.

Venus. What should this meane? my Doues are back returnd,
Who warne me of such danger prest at hand,
To harme my sweete *Ascanius* louely life.
Iuno, my mortall foe, what make you here?
200 Auaunt, old witch, and trouble not my wits.
Iuno. Fie, *Venus*, that such causeles words of wrath
Should ere defile so faire a mouth as thine: |
Are not we both sprong of celestiall rase, D 2
And banquet, as two Sisters, with the Gods? [860]
205 Why is it then displeasure should disioyne
Whom kindred and acquaintance counites?
Venus. Out, hatefull hag, thou wouldst haue slaine my sonne,
Had not my Doues discou'rd thy entent:
But I will teare thy eyes fro forth thy head,
210 And feast the birds with their bloud-shotten balles,
If thou but lay thy fingers on my boy.
Iuno. Is this then all the thankes that I shall haue,
For sauing him from Snakes and Serpents stings,

186 let out] *Hurst etc.*: left out *Q.* 191 simple without *Q.* mind] *Dyce etc.*: made *Q*: might *Hurst, Rob.* *Qy. read* simple with ought made? 197 such] some *Cun. conj.* 209 from *Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: frō *Gro.*

That would haue kild him, sleeping, as he lay? [870]
What though I was offended with thy sonne, 215
And wrought him mickle woe on sea and land,
When, for the hate of Troian *Ganimed*,
That was aduanced by my *Hebes* shame,
And *Paris* iudgement of the heauenly ball,
I mustred all the windes vnto his wracke, 220
And vrg'd each Element to his annoy:
Yet now I doe repent me of his ruth,
And wish that I had neuer wrongd him so:
Bootles I sawe it was to warre with fate, [880]
That hath so many vnresisted friends: 225
Wherefore I chaunged my counsell with the time,
And planted loue where enuie erst had sprong.
Venus. Sister of *Ioue*, if that thy loue be such
As these thy protestations doe paint forth,
We two, as friends, one fortune will deuide: 230
Cupid shall lay his arrowes in thy lap,
And to a Scepter chaunge his golden shafts;
Fancie and modestie shall liue as mates,
And thy faire peacockes by my pigeons pearch: [890]
Loue my *Æneas*, and desire is thine; 235
The day, the night, my Swannes, my sweetes, are thine.
Iuno. More then melodious are these words to me,
That ouercloy my soule with their content:
Venus, sweete *Venus*, how may I deserue |
D 2v Such amourous fauours at thy beautious hand? 240
But, that thou maist more easilie perceiue
How highly I doe prize this amitie,
Harke to a motion of eternall league,
Which I will make in quittance of thy loue: [900]
Thy sonne, thou knowest, with *Dido* now remaines, 245
And feedes his eyes with fauours of her Court;
She, likewise, in admyring spends her time,
And cannot talke nor thinke of ought but him:

220 wreck *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*[1], *Gro.* 226 chaunged] *Dyce etc.*: chaunge *Q*, *Hurst*, *Rob.* 245 know'st *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.*

Why should not they then ioyne in marriage,
250 And bring forth mightie Kings to Carthage towne,
Whom casualtie of sea hath made such friends?
And, *Venus*, let there be a match confirmd
Betwixt these two, whose loues are so alike;
And both our Deities, conioynd in one, [910]
255 Shall chaine felicitie vnto their throne.

Venus. Well could I like this reconcilements meanes,
But much I feare my sonne will nere consent;
Whose armed soule, alreadie on the sea,
Darts forth her light to *Lauinias* shoare.

260 *Iuno*. Faire Queene of loue, I will deuorce these doubts,
And finde the way to wearie such fond thoughts:
This day they both a hunting forth will ride
Into the woods adioyning to these walles;
When, in the midst of all their gamesome sports, [920]
265 Ile make the Clowdes dissolue their watrie workes,
And drench *Siluanus* dwellings with their showers;
Then in one Caue the Queene and he shall meete,
And interchangeably discourse their thoughts,
Whose short conclusion will seale vp their hearts,
270 Vnto the purpose which we now propound.

Venus. Sister, I see you sauour of my wiles:
Be it as you will haue it for this once:
Meane time, *Ascanius* shall be my charge;
Whom I will beare to *Ida* in mine armes, [930]
275 And couch him in *Adonis* purple downe. *Exeunt.* |

[Scena 3.]

Enter Dido, Æneas, Anna, Iarbas, Achates, D 3
Cupid as Ascanius, and followers.

Dido. *Æneas*, thinke not but I honor thee,

259 lightning to *or* light unto *Dyce conj.*: light unto *Cun.*, *Bul.*: Lavinian *Dyce*[2] *conj.*: to the *Lauinian Gro.*: unto *Lauinium's Gro. conj.* 263 the] *Dyce, Cun.*, *Bul.*, *Gro.*: these *Q*, *Hurst*, *Rob.* 266 shewers *Q.* 272 haue it for] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*[1] (*there conj.*): haue for *Q*, *Dyce*[1]. Scena 3.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q.* 'Scene, a wood.' *Dyce*: 'a wood near Carthage.' *Bul.* S.D. *Cupid as Ascanius*,] *Dyce*, *Bul.*, *Gro.*: *om. Q and others.* 276 *Line* 916 *Gro.*

That thus in person goe with thee to hunt:
My princely robes, thou seest, are layd aside,
Whose glittering pompe *Dianas* shrowdes supplies;
All fellowes now, disposde alike to sporte; 280
The woods are wide, and we haue store of game:
Faire Troian, hold my golden bowe awhile, [940]
Vntill I gird my quiuer to my side:
Lords, goe before, we two must talke alone.
Iar. Vngentle, can she wrong *Iarbas* so? 285
Ile dye before a stranger haue that grace:
We two will talke alone; what words be these?
Dido. What makes *Iarbas* here of all the rest?
We could haue gone without your companie.
Æn. But loue and duetie led him on perhaps, 290
To presse beyond acceptance to your sight.
Iar. Why, man of *Troy*, doe I offend thine eyes? [950]
Or art thou grieude thy betters presse so nye?
Dido. How now, Getulian, are ye growne so braue,
To challenge vs with your comparisons? 295
Pesant, goe seeke companions like thy selfe,
And meddle not with any that I loue:
Æneas, be not moude at what he sayes,
For otherwhile he will be out of ioynt.
Iar. Women may wrong by priuiledge of loue: 300
But should that man of men (*Dido* except)
Haue taunted me in these opprobrious termes, [960]
I would haue either drunke his dying bloud,
Or els I would haue giuen my life in gage.
Dido. Huntsmen, why pitch you not your toyles apace, 305
And rowse the light foote Deere from forth their laire?
Anna. Sister, see, see *Ascanius* in his pompe,
Bearing his huntspeare brauely in his hand. |
D 3v *Dido.* Yea, little sonne, are you so forward now?
Asca. I, mother; I shall one day be a man, 310
And better able vnto other armes;

279 shroud *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 280 fellowes] follow us *Cun.* 287 these: S.D. *Aside. Dyce, Bul.* 294]ye you *Dyce, Bul.* (*and in all like cases*).

Meane time these wanton weapons serue my warre, [970]
Which I will breake betwixt a Lyons iawes.
Dido. What, darest thou looke a Lyon in the face?
315 *Asca.* I, and outface him to, doe what he can.
Anna. How like his father speaketh he in all!
Æn. And mought I liue to see him sacke rich *Thebes,*
And loade his speare with Grecian Princes heads,
Then would I wish me with *Anchises* Tombe,
320 And dead to honour that hath brought me vp.
Iar. And might I liue to see thee shipt away,
And hoyst aloft on *Neptunes* hideous hilles, [980]
Then would I wish me in faire *Didos* armes,
And dead to scorne that hath pursued me so.
325 *Æn.* Stoute friend *Achates,* doest thou know this wood?
Acha. As I remember, here you shot the Deere
That sau'd your famisht souldiers liues from death,
When first you set your foote vpon the shoare;
And here we met faire *Venus,* virgine like,
330 Bearing her bowe and quiuer at her backe.
Æn. O, how these irksome labours now delight
And ouerioy my thoughts with their escape: [990]
Who would not vndergoe all kind of toyle,
To be well stor'd with such a winters tale?
335 *Dido. Æneas,* leaue these dumpes, and lets away,
Some to the mountaines, some vnto the soyle,
You to the vallies; thou [*to Iarbas*] vnto the house.
Exeunt all except Iarbas.
Iar. I, this it is which wounds me to the death,
To see a Phrigian, far fet o'er the sea,
340 Preferd before a man of maiestie:
O loue, O hate, O cruell womens hearts, [1000]
That imitate the Moone in euery chaunge,

314 dar'st *Dyce, Bul.* 315 to] too *Hurst etc.* 324 S.D. *Aside. Dyce, Cun., Bul.* 337 S.D. *to Iarbas*] *Gro.* 337 S.D. *Exeunt . . .*] *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.*: *Exeunt omnes: manent. Q*: *Exeunt omnes: manet Iarbas Gro.* 339 far fet] far set *Hurst, Rob.*: far set *Hurst, Rob.*: forfeit *MS. note in Rob.* (*B.M.* 11771. d. 4). o'er] *Dyce, Cun., Bul., Gro.*: to *Q, Hurst, Rob.* Phrygian o' the farthest sea *Mitf. conj.*

And, like the Planets, euer loue to raunge:
What shall I doe, thus wronged with disdaine? |
D 4 Reuenge me on *Æneas*, or on her? 345
On her? fond man, that were to warre gainst heauen,
And with one shaft prouoke ten thousand darts:
This Troians end will be thy enuies aime,
Whose bloud will reconcile thee to content,
And make loue drunken with thy sweete desire: 350
But *Dido*, that now holdeth him so deare, [1010]
Will dye with very tidings of his death:
But time will discontinue her content,
And mould her minde vnto newe fancies shapes:
O God of heauen, turne the hand of fate 355
Vnto that happie day of my delight;
And then; what then? *Iarbas* shall but loue:
So doth he now, though not with equall gaine,
That resteth in the riuall of thy paine,
Who nere will cease to soare till he be slaine. *Exit.* 360

[Scena 4.]

The storme. Enter Æneas and Dido in the [1020]
Caue at seuerall times.

Dido. *Æneas!*
Æn. *Dido!*
Dido. Tell me, deare loue, how found you out this Caue?
Æn. By chance, sweete Queene, as *Mars* and *Venus* met.
Dido. Why, that was in a net, where we are loose; 365
And yet I am not free; oh, would I were!
Æn. Why, what is it that *Dido* may desire
And not obtaine, be it in humaine power?
Dido. The thing that I will dye before I aske, [1030]
And yet desire to haue before I dye. 370
Æn. It is not ought *Æneas* may atchieue?

Scena 4.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q.* S.D. *A storm. Hurst, Rob., Cun.*
361 *Line* 1002 *Gro.*

Dido. Æneas? no; although his eyes doe pearce.
Æn. What, hath *Iarbas* angred her in ought?
And will she be auenged on his life?
375 *Dido.* Not angred me, except in angring thee.
Æn. Who then of all so cruell may he be,
That should detaine thy eye in his defects? |
Dido. The man that I doe eye where ere I am; D 4v
Whose amorous face, like *Pean*, sparkles fire, [1040]
380 When as he buts his beames on *Floras* bed.
Prometheus hath put on *Cupids* shape,
And I must perish in his burning armes:
Æneas, O *Æneas*, quench these flames.
Æn. What ailes my Queene? is she falne sicke of late?
385 *Dido.* Not sicke, my loue; but sicke I must conceale
The torment, that it bootes me not reueale;
And yet Ile speake; and yet Ile hold my peace:
Doe shame her worst, I will disclose my griefe;
Æneas, thou art he: what did I say? [1050]
390 Something it was that now I haue forgot.
Æn. What meanes faire *Dido* by this doubtfull speech?
Dido. Nay, nothing, but *Æneas* loues me not.
Æn. *Æneas* thoughts dare not ascend so high
As *Didos* heart, which Monarkes might not scale.
395 *Dido.* It was because I sawe no King like thee,
Whose golden Crowne might ballance my content:
But now that I haue found what to effect,
I followe one that loueth fame for me,
And rather had seeme faire in *Sirens* eyes, [1060]
400 Then to the Carthage Queene that dyes for him.
Æn. If that your maiestie can looke so lowe
As my despised worths, that shun all praise,
With this my hand I giue to you my heart,

374 revengèd *Cun.* 381 *Prometheus* now hath *Gro.* (*with note* '[now] in contemporary MS.'). 385 Not . . . I] *Dyce, Bul.*: . . . love:. but . . . *Cun.*: Not sicke my loue, but sicke, I *Q*: . . . loue; but sicke,—I *Gro.* 397 effect] affect *Hurst etc.* 398 for] *Q, Hurst, Rob.*: 'fore *Dyce, Bul.*: fore *Cun., Gro.*: foreign *Coll. conj.* 399 in] *Dyce etc. ex. Cun.*: *om. Q, Hurst, Rob.* (*the two latter reading* seen *for* seeme): to *Cun.*

And vow, by all the Gods of Hospitalitie,
By heauen and earth, and my faire brothers bowe, 405
By *Paphos*, *Capys*, and the purple Sea,
From whence my radiant mother did descend,
And by this Sword that saued me from the Greekes,
Neuer to leaue these newe vpreared walles, [1070]
Whiles *Dido* liues and rules in *Iunos* towne, 410
Neuer to like or loue any but her.

Dido. What more then delian musicke doe I heare,
That calles my soule from forth his liuing seate,
To moue vnto the measures of delight? |
E 1 Kind clowdes, that sent forth such a curteous storme, 415
As made disdaine to flye to fancies lap!
Stoute loue, in mine armes make thy *Italy*,
Whose Crowne and kingdome rests at thy commande:
Sicheus, not *Æneas*, be thou calde; [1080]
The King of *Carthage*, not *Anchises* sonne: 420
Hold, take these Iewels at thy Louers hand,
These golden bracelets, and this wedding ring,
Wherewith my husband woo'd me yet a maide,
And be thou king of *Libia* by my guift.

Exeunt to the Caue.

Actus 4. Scena 1.

Enter Achates, Cupid as Ascanius, Iarbas, and Anna.

Acha. Did euer men see such a sudden storme?
Or day so cleare so suddenly orecast? [1090]

Iar. I thinke some fell Inchantresse dwelleth here,
That can call them forth when as she please,
And diue into blacke tempests treasurie, 5
When as she meanes to maske the world with clowdes.

Anna. In all my life I neuer knew the like;

407 descend] ascend *Bul.* 421 hand, S.D. *Giving jewels, &c. Dyce, Bul.* 424 S.D. *Exeunt . . .*] 'They retire into the innermost part of the cave.' *Dyce*[1]. S.D. *Cupid as*] *Hurst etc.*: *om. Q.* 'Scene, before the cave.' *Dyce, Bul.* 1 *Line* 1067 *Gro.* 4 One that can . . . *Mitf. conj., Gro., Deigh. conj.*; That can call forth the winds whenas . . . *Bul. conj.*

It haild, it snowde, it lightned, all at once.
Acha. I thinke it was the diuels reuelling night,
10 There was such hurly burly in the heauens:
Doubtles *Apollos* Axeltree is crackt,
Or aged *Atlas* shoulder out of ioynt, [1100]
The motion was so ouer violent.
Iar. In all this coyle, where haue ye left the Queene?
15 *Asca.* Nay, where is my warlike father, can you tell?
Anna. Behold where both of them come forth the Caue.
Iar. Come forth the Caue? can heauen endure this sight?
Iarbas, curse that vnreuenging *Ioue*,
Whose flintie darts slept in *Tiphœus* den,
20 Whiles these adulterors surfetted with sinne:
Nature, why mad'st me not some poysonous beast,
That with the sharpnes of my edged sting | [1110]
I might haue stakte them both vnto the earth, E 1v
Whil'st they were sporting in this darksome Caue?

[*Enter Æneas and Dido.*]

25 *Æn.* The ayre is cleere, and Southerne windes are whist;
Come, *Dido*, let vs hasten to the towne,
Since gloomie *Æolus* doth cease to frowne.
Dido. *Achates* and *Ascanius*, well met.
Æn. Faire *Anna*, how escapt you from the shower?
30 *Anna.* As others did, by running to the wood.
Dido. But where were you, *Iarbas*, all this while?
Iar. Not with *Æneas* in the vgly Caue. [1120]
Dido. I see *Æneas* sticketh in your minde;
But I will soone put by that stumbling blocke,
35 And quell those hopes that thus employ your cares.
Exeunt.

15 where's *Hurst etc.* 19 *Tiphœus*] *Hurst etc.*: *Tiphous Q.* 24 Caue? S.D. *Aside. Bul.* S.D. *Enter . . .*] *Hurst, Rob., Cun., Gro.*: *om. Q*: *Enter, from the cave, Æneas and Dido. Dyce, Bul.* 35 cares] *Hurst etc.*: eares *Q.*

[Scena 2.]

Enters Iarbas to Sacrifize.

Iar. Come, seruants, come; bring forth the Sacrifize,
That I may pacifie that gloomy *Ioue*,
Whose emptie Altars haue enlarg'd our illes.
Eternall *Ioue*, great master of the Clowdes,
Father of gladnesse and all frollicke thoughts 40
That with thy gloomie hand corrects the heauen, [1130]
When ayrie creatures warre amongst themselues:
Heare, heare, O, heare *Iarbas* plaining prayers,
Whose hideous ecchoes make the welkin howle,
And all the woods *Eliza* to resound: 45
The woman that thou wild vs entertaine,
Where, straying in our borders vp and downe,
She crau'd a hide of ground to build a towne,
With whom we did deuide both lawes and land,
And all the fruites that plentie els sends forth, 50
Scorning our loues and royall marriage rites, [1140]
Yeelds vp her beautie to a strangers bed;
Who, hauing wrought her shame, is straight way fled:
Now, if thou beest a pitying God of power,
On whom ruth and compassion euer waites, 55
Redresse these wrongs, and warne him to his ships,
That now afflicts me with his flattering eyes. |

E 2 *Enter Anna.*

Anna. How now, *Iarbas*; at your prayers so hard?
Iar. I, *Anna*; is there ought you would with me?
Anna. Nay, no such waightie busines of import, [1150] 60
But may be slackt vntill another time:
Yet, if you would partake with me the cause
Of this deuotion that detaineth you,

Scena 2.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q.* S.D. *Enter Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 'Scene, an apartment in the dwelling of Iarbas.' *Dyce*: 'a room in Iarbas' house.' *Bul.* 36 *Line* 1103 *Gro.* 38 illes. S.D. *Servants bring in the sacrifice, and then exeunt. Dyce, Bul.* 46–51 The woman—that . . . forth,—Scorning *Gro.* 47 Where] When *Coll. conj.* 57 eyes] lips *Coll. conj.*

I would be thankfull for such curtesie.
65 *Iar.* *Anna*, against this Troian doe I pray,
Who seekes to rob me of thy Sisters loue,
And diue into her heart by coloured lookes.
Anna. Alas, poore King, that labours so in vaine,
For her that so delighteth in thy paine:
70 Be rul'd by me, and seeke some other loue, [1160]
Whose yeelding heart may yeeld thee more reliefe.
Iar. Mine eye is fixt where fancie cannot start;
O, leaue me, leaue me to my silent thoughts,
That register the numbers of my ruth,
75 And I will either moue the thoughtles flint,
Or drop out both mine eyes in drisling teares,
Before my sorrowes tide haue any stint.
Anna. I will not leaue *Iarbas*, whom I loue,
In this delight of dying pensiuenes:
80 Away with *Dido*! *Anna* be thy song; [1170]
Anna, that doth admire thee more then heauen.
Iar. I may nor will list to such loathsome chaunge,
That intercepts the course of my desire:
Seruants, come fetch these emptie vessels here;
85 For I will flye from these alluring eyes,
That doe pursue my peace where ere it goes. *Exit.*
Anna. *Iarbas*, stay, louing *Iarbas*, stay,
For I haue honey to present thee with:
Hard hearted, wilt not deigne to heare me speake?
90 Ile follow thee with outcryes nere the lesse, [1180]
And strewe thy walkes with my discheueld haire. *Exit.* |

[Scena 3.]

E 2v

Enter Æneas alone.

Æn. *Carthage*, my friendly host, adue,
Since destinie doth call me from thy shoare.

86 goes] flies *Coll. conj.* S.D. *Exit.—Servants re-enter, and carry out the vessels, &c. Dyce, Bul.* Scena 3.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q.* S.D. *alone*] *om. Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 'Scene, an apartment in Dido's palace.' *Dyce*: 'a room in...' *Bul.* 92 *Line* 1160 *Gro.* 93 thy] *Hurst etc.*: the *Q.*

Hermes this night, descending in a dreame,
Hath summond me to fruitfull *Italy*: 95
Ioue wils it so; my mother wils it so:
Let my Phenissa graunt, and then I goe:
Graunt she or no, *Æneas* must away;
Whose golden fortunes, clogd with courtly ease, [1190]
Cannot ascend to Fames immortall house, 100
Or banquet in bright honors burnisht hall,
Till he hath furrowed *Neptunes* glassie fieldes,
And cut a passage through his toples hilles.
Achates, come forth; *Sergestus*, *Illioneus*,
Cloanthus, haste away; *Æneas* calles. 105

Enter Achates, Cloanthus, Sergestus, and Illioneus.

Acha. What willes our Lord, or wherefore did he call?
Æn. The dreames (braue mates) that did beset my bed,
When sleepe but newly had imbrast the night, [1201]
Commaunds me leaue these vnrenowmed reames,
Whereas Nobilitie abhors to stay, 110
And none but base *Æneas* will abide:
Abourd, abourd, since Fates doe bid abourd,
And slice the Sea with sable coloured ships,
On whom the nimble windes may all day waight,
And follow them, as footemen, through the deepe: 115
Yet *Dido* casts her eyes, like anchors, out,
To stay my Fleete from loosing forth the Bay: [1210]
Come backe, come backe, I heare her crye afarre,
And let me linke thy bodie to my lips,
That, tyed together by the striuing tongues, 120
We may as one saile into *Italy*.
Acha. Banish that ticing dame from forth your mouth,
And follow your foreseeing starres in all; |
E 3 This is no life for men at armes to liue,

107 dream *Hurst etc. ex. Bul., Gro.* 109 reames] *Gro.*: reams *Dyce*[1]: realms *Dyce*[2], *Cun., Bul.*: beames *Q, Hurst, Rob.* 118 a farre *Q.* 119 thy] *Dyce etc.*: my *Q*: my body to thy lips *Hurst, Rob.*

125 Where daliance doth consume a Souldiers strength,
And wanton motions of alluring eyes
Effeminate our mindes, inur'd to warre. [1220]
Illio. Why, let vs build a Citie of our owne,
And not stand lingering here for amorous lookes:
130 Will *Dido* raise old *Priam* forth his graue,
And build the towne againe the Greekes did burne?
No, no, she cares not how we sinke or swimme,
So she may haue *Æneas* in her armes.
Cloan. To *Italy*, sweete friends, to *Italy*;
135 We will not stay a minute longer here.
Æn. Troians, abourd, and I will follow you:
[*Exeunt all except Æneas.*]
I faine would goe, yet beautie calles me backe: [1230]
To leaue her so, and not once say farewell,
Were to transgresse against all lawes of loue:
140 But, if I vse such ceremonious thankes
As parting friends accustome on the shoare,
Her siluer armes will coll me round about,
And teares of pearle crye, stay, *Æneas*, stay:
Each word she sayes will then containe a Crowne,
145 And euery speech be ended with a kisse:
I may not dure this female drudgerie;
To sea, *Æneas*, finde out *Italy*. *Exit.* [1240]

[Scena 4.]

Enter Dido and Anna.

Dido. O *Anna*, runne vnto the water side;
They say *Æneas* men are going abourd;
150 It may be he will steale away with them:
Stay not to answere me, runne, *Anna*, runne. [*Exit Anna.*]
O foolish Troians, that would steale from hence,

136 S.D. *Exeunt* . . .] *Dyce, Bul.*: *om. Q, Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: *Ex. the rest Gro.* 138 say, farewell *Hurst, Rob., Cun., Gro.* 142 coll] coil *Hurst, Rob., Coll. conj. Cun. (doubted in notes).* 147 S.D. *exeunt. Hurst, Rob., Cun.* Scena 4.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q.* 'Another apartment in Dido's palace.' *Dyce*: a room in . . . *Bul.* 148 *Line* 1217 *Gro.* 151 S.D. *Exit* . . .] *Dyce, Bul.*: *om. Q. and others.*

And not let *Dido* vnderstand their drift:
I would haue giuen *Achates* store of gold,
And *Illioneus* gum and Libian spice; 155
The common souldiers rich imbrodered coates, [1250]
And siluer whistles to controule the windes,
Which *Circes* sent *Sicheus* when he liued: |
E 3v Vnworthie are they of a Queenes reward:
See where they come; how might I doe to chide? 160

Enter Anna, with Æneas, Achates, Illioneus, and Sergestus.

Anna. Twas time to runne; *Æneas* had been gone;
The sailes were hoysing vp, and he abourd.
Dido. Is this thy loue to me?
Æn. O princely *Dido*, giue me leaue to speake; [1260]
I went to take my farewell of *Achates*. 165
Dido. How haps *Achates* bid me not farewell?
Acha. Because I feard your grace would keepe me here.
Dido. To rid thee of that doubt, abourd againe;
I charge thee put to sea, and stay not here.
Acha. Then let *Æneas* goe abourd with vs. 170
Dido. Get you abourd; *Æneas* meanes to stay.
Æn. The sea is rough, the windes blow to the shoare.
Dido. O false *Æneas*, now the sea is rough,
But when you were abourd, twas calme enough; [1270]
Thou and *Achates* ment to saile away. 175
Æn. Hath not the Carthage Queene mine onely sonne?
Thinkes *Dido* I will goe and leaue him here?
Dido. Æneas, pardon me, for I forgot
That yong *Ascanius* lay with me this night:
Loue made me iealous; but, to make amends, 180
Weare the emperiall Crowne of *Libia*,
[*Giving him her crown and sceptre.*]

158 *Circe Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 160 S.D. *Re-enter Dyce, Bul. Achates, Cloanthus, Ilioneus Dyce*[2], *Cun., Bul. Sergestus and Attendants. Rob., Cun.*: *Sergestus and Carthaginian Lords. Dyce, Bul.* 162 hoisting *Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: hoysting *Gro.* 172 wind blows *Hurst, Rob., Cun.* 181 S.D. *Giving . . .*] *Dyce, Bul.*: *om. Q, Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: *Places it on his head, and gives the sceptre. Gro.*

Sway thou the Punike Scepter in my steede,
And punish me, *Æneas*, for this crime.
Æn. This kisse shall be faire *Didos* punishment. [1280]
185 *Dido.* O, how a Crowne becomes *Æneas* head!
Stay here, *Æneas*, and commaund as King.
Æn. How vaine am I to weare this Diadem,
And beare this golden Scepter in my hand!
A Burgonet of steele, and not a Crowne,
190 A Sword, and not a Scepter, fits *Æneas.*
Dido. O, keepe them still, and let me gaze my fill:
Now lookes *Æneas* like immortall *Ioue*; |
O, where is *Ganimed*, to hold his cup, E 4
And *Mercury*, to flye for what he calles? [1290]
195 Ten thousand *Cupids* houer in the ayre,
And fanne it in *Æneas* louely face:
O, that the Clowdes were here wherein thou fleest,
That thou and I vnseene might sport our selues:
Heauens, enuious of our ioyes, is waxen pale;
200 And when we whisper, then the starres fall downe,
To be partakers of our honey talke.
Æn. O *Dido*, patronesse of all our liues,
When I leaue thee, death be my punishment:
Swell, raging seas; frowne, wayward destinies; [1300]
205 Blow, windes; threaten, ye Rockes and sandie shelfes;
This is the harbour that *Æneas* seekes;
Lets see what tempests can anoy me now.
Dido. Not all the world can take thee from mine armes;
Æneas may commaund as many Moores,
210 As in the Sea are little water drops:
And now, to make experience of my loue,
Faire sister *Anna*, leade my louer forth,
And, seated on my Gennet, let him ride,
As *Didos* husband, through the punicke streetes; [1310]
215 And will my guard, with Mauritanian darts,
To waite vpon him as their soueraigne Lord.

190 *Æneas.* S.D. *Offers to return them. Gro.* 197 fled'st *Dyce, Bul.*
199 Heauen *Hurst etc.* 208 thee] that *Rob., Cun.*

Anna. What if the Citizens repine thereat?
Dido. Those that dislike what *Dido* giues in charge,
Commaund my guard to slay for their offence:
Shall vulgar pesants storme at what I doe? 220
The ground is mine that giues them sustenance,
The ayre wherein they breathe, the water, fire,
All that they haue, their lands, their goods, their liues,
And I, the Goddesse of all these, commaund [1320]
Æneas ride as Carthaginian King. 225
Acha. *Æneas*, for his parentage, deserues
As large a kingdome as is *Libia*.
Æn. I, and vnlesse the destinies be false,
I shall be planted in as rich a land. |
E 4v *Dido*. Speake of no other land, this land is thine, 230
Dido is thine, henceforth Ile call thee Lord:
Doe as I bid thee, sister; leade the way,
And from a turret Ile behold my loue.
Æn. Then here in me shall flourish *Priams* race, [1330]
And thou and I, *Achates*, for reuenge 235
For *Troy*, for *Priam*, for his fiftie sonnes,
Our kinsmens liues, and thousand guiltles soules,
Will leade an hoste against the hatefull Greekes,
And fire proude *Lacedemon* ore their heads.
Exit, with Trojans.
Dido. Speakes not *Æneas* like a Conqueror? 240
O blessed tempests that did driue him in,
O happie sand that made him runne aground;
Henceforth you shall be our Carthage Gods:
I, but it may be he will leaue my loue, [1340]
And seeke a forraine land calde *Italy*: 245
O, that I had a charme to keepe the windes
Within the closure of a golden ball,
Or that the Tyrrhen sea were in mine armes,

237 liues] *Dyce etc.*: loues *Q, Hurst, Rob.* 239 S.D. *Exit* . . .] *Exit. Q, Hurst*: *Exeunt all but Dido and Attendants. Rob., Cun.*: . . . *all except Dido and Carthaginian Lords. Dyce, Bul.*: *Exeunt Æneas, Anna, and Trojans. Gro.* 243 be our] be 'mong our *Dyce conj.*: be of our *Bul., Gro.* 'Why not say that "our" is a dissyllable?' *Coll.* (*to Dyce's note*).

That he might suffer shipwracke on my breast,
250 As oft as he attempts to hoyst vp saile!
I must preuent him; wishing will not serue:
Goe, bid my Nurse take yong *Ascanius*,
And beare him in the countrey to her house;
Æneas will not goe without his sonne: [1350]
255 Yet, lest he should, for I am full of feare,
Bring me his oares, his tackling, and his sailes:
[*Exit a Lord.*]
What if I sinke his ships? O, heele frowne!
Better he frowne, then I should dye for griefe:
I cannot see him frowne; it may not be:
260 Armies of foes resolu'd to winne this towne,
Or impious traitors vowde to haue my life,
Affright me not; onely *Æneas* frowne
Is that which terrifies poore *Didos* heart;
Not bloudie speares, appearing in the ayre, [1360]
265 Presage the downfall of my Emperie,
Nor blazing Commets threatens *Didos* death; | F 1
It is *Æneas* frowne that ends my daies:
If he forsake me not, I neuer dye,
For in his lookes I see eternitie,
270 And heele make me immortall with a kisse.

Re-enter the Lord.

[*Lord.*] Your Nurse is gone with yong *Ascanius*;
And heres *Æneas* tackling, oares, and sailes.
Dido. Are these the sailes that, in despight of me, [1370]
Packt with the windes to beare *Æneas* hence?
275 Ile hang ye in the chamber where I lye;
Driue, if you can, my house to *Italy*:
Ile set the casement open, that the windes

256 S.D. *Exit . . .*] *Gro.*: *om. Q, Hurst*: *One of the attendants goes out. Rob., Cun.*: *Exit First Lord. Dyce, Bul.* 257 he will *Hurst etc.* 266 threaten *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 270 S.D. *Re-enter . . .*] *Enter a Lord. Q, Hurst, Rob.*: *. . . with Attendants. Cun.*: *Re-enter First Lord, with tackling, &c. Dyce*[1]: *. . . Lord, with Attendants carrying tackling, &c. Dyce*[2], *Bul.*: *Re-enter a Lord with Attendants. Gro.* 271 *Lord.*] *Hurst, Rob., Cun., Gro.*: *om. Q*: *First Lord. Dyce, Bul.* 276 *Italy*: S.D. *tears the sails Gro.*

May enter in, and once againe conspire
Against the life of me, poore Carthage Queene:
But, though he goe, he stayes in Carthage still; 280
And let rich Carthage fleete vpon the seas,
So I may haue *Æneas* in mine armes.
Is this the wood that grew in Carthage plaines, [1380]
And would be toyling in the watrie billowes,
To rob their mistresse of her Troian guest? 285
O cursed tree, hadst thou but wit or sense,
To measure how I prize *Æneas* loue,
Thou wouldst haue leapt from out the Sailers hands,
And told me that *Æneas* ment to goe:
And yet I blame thee not, thou art but wood. 290
The water, which our Poets terme a Nimph,
Why did it suffer thee to touch her breast,
And shrunke not backe, knowing my loue was there? [1390]
The water is an Element, no Nimph:
Why should I blame *Æneas* for his flight? 295
O *Dido*, blame not him, but breake his oares;
These were the instruments that launcht him forth:
Theres not so much as this base tackling too,
But dares to heape vp sorrowe to my heart:
Was it not you that hoysed vp these sailes? 300
Why burst you not, and they fell in the seas? |
F 1v For this will *Dido* tye ye full of knots,
And sheere ye all asunder with her hands: [1400]
Now serue to chastize shipboyes for their faults,
Ye shall no more offend the Carthage Queene. 305
Now let him hang my fauours on his masts,
And see if those will serue in steed of sailes:
For tackling, let him take the chaines of gold
Which I bestowd vpon his followers:
In steed of oares, let him vse his hands, 310
And swim to *Italy*: Ile keepe these sure;
Come, beare them in. *Exeunt.*

280 though ye go *Dyce, Cun., Bul.* 284 watery *Dyce, Cun., Bul.* 296 oares; S.D. *breaks them Gro.* 303 hands: S.D. *knots and cuts them Gro.* 306 Now, let *Dyce, Bul.* 312 S.D. *Exit. Q, Gro.*

[Scene 5.]

Enter the Nurse with Cupid for Ascanius. [1410]

Nurse. My Lord *Ascanius*, ye must goe with me.
Cupid. Whither must I goe? Ile stay with my mother.
315 *Nurse.* No, thou shalt goe with me vnto my house:
I haue an Orchard that hath store of plums,
Browne Almonds, Seruises, ripe Figs and Dates,
Dewberries, Apples, yellow Orenges;
A garden where are Bee hiues full of honey,
320 Musk-roses, and a thousand sort of flowers;
And in the midst doth run a siluer streame,
Where thou shalt see the red gild fishes leape, [1420]
White Swannes, and many louely water fowles:
Now speake, *Ascanius*, will ye goe or no?
325 *Cupid.* Come, come, Ile goe; how farre hence is your house?
Nurse. But hereby, child; we shall get thither straight.
Cupid. Nurse, I am wearie; will you carrie me?
Nurse. I, so youle dwell with me, and call me mother.
Cupid. So youle loue me, I care not if I doe.
330 *Nurse.* That I might liue to see this boy a man!
How pretilie he laughs: goe, ye wagge,
Youle be a twigger when you come to age. [1430]
Say *Dido* what she will, I am not old;
Ile be no more a widowe, I am young,
335 Ile haue a husband, or els a louer. |
Cupid. A husband and no teeth! F 2
Nurse. O, what meane I to haue such foolish thoughts!
Foolish is loue, a toy: O sacred loue!
If there be any heauen in earth, tis loue:
340 Especially in women of your yeares.

312 Scene 5.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q.* 'Scene, the country. *Dyce*: 'the open country near Carthage.' *Bul.* S.D. *for*] *as Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 313 *Line* 1374 *Gro.* 331 laughs; S.D. *He toys with her Gro.* goe] Go, go, *Mitf. conj.*: Go to *Bul.* (*from Athenæum, No.* 2977). 332 trigg r *Coll. conj.* 338 Foolish is loue, a toy: O] . . . toy, O *Q*: . . . toy. O *Hu t, Rob., Dyce* [1], *Cun.*: . . . toy.—O *Dyce* [2], *Bul., Gro.*: Foolish! is love a toy? *oll. conj.* 340–2 *Collier suggests giving these lines to Cupid, the Nurse to resume at l.* 343. 340 your] our *Deigh. conj.*

Blush, blush for shame; why shouldst thou thinke of loue?
A graue, and not a louer, fits thy age: [1440]
A graue, why? I may liue a hundred yeares;
Fourescore is but a girles age: loue is sweete:
My vaines are withered, and my sinewes drie; 345
Why doe I thinke of loue now I should dye?
Cupid. Come, Nurse.
Nurse. Well, if he come a wooing he shall speede;
O, how vnwise was I to say him nay! *Exeunt.*

Actus 5. [Scene 1.]

Enter Æneas with a paper in his hand, drawing the platforme of the citie; with him Achates, [1450] *Sergestus, Cloanthus, and Illioneus.*

Æn. Triumph, my mates, our trauels are at end;
Here will *Æneas* build a statelier *Troy*,
Then that which grim *Atrides* ouerthrew:
Carthage shall vaunt her pettie walles no more,
For I will grace them with a fairer frame, 5
And clad her in a Chrystall liuerie,
Wherein the day may euermore delight:
From golden *India Ganges* will I fetch,
Whose wealthie streames may waite vpon her towers,
And triple wise intrench her round about: [1461] 10
The Sunne from Egypt shall rich odors bring,
Wherewith his burning beames, like labouring Bees,
That loade their thighes with *Hyblas* honeys spoyles,
Shall here vnburden their exhaled sweetes,
And plant our pleasant suburbes with her fumes. 15
Acha. What length or bredth shal this braue towne cōtaine?

343 A graue! why, I *Dyce, Cun., Bul.* Scene 1.] *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce*: *om. Q.* S.D. *Sergestus*] *Dyce, Bul., Gro.*: *om. Q, Hurst, Rob., Cun.* 'Scene, an apartment in Dido's palace.' *Dyce*: '. . . a room in . . .' *Bul.* 1 *Line* 1412 *Gro.* 13 honey-spoils *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 15 with their fumes *Dyce*[1] *conj., Dyce*[2], *Bul.*: And scent our pleasant suburbs with perfumes *Elze* (*Notes on Eliz. Dram.*)

Æn. Not past foure thousand paces at the most. |
Illio. But what shall it be calde? *Troy*, as before? F 2v
Æn. That haue I not determinde with my selfe. [1470]
20 *Cloan.* Let it be term'd *Ænea*, by your name.
Serg. Rather *Ascania*, by your little sonne.
Æn. Nay, I will haue it calde *Anchisæon*,
Of my old fathers name.

Enter Hermes with Ascanius.

Hermes. *Æneas*, stay; *Ioues* Herald bids thee stay.
25 *Æn.* Whom doe I see? *Ioues* winged messenger?
Welcome to *Carthage* new erected towne.
Hermes. Why, cosin, stand you building Cities here,
And beautifying the Empire of this Queene, [1480]
While *Italy* is cleane out of thy minde?
30 To too forgetfull of thine owne affayres,
Why wilt thou so betray thy sonnes good hap?
The king of Gods sent me from highest heauen,
To sound this angrie message in thine eares :
Vaine man, what Monarky expectst thou here?
35 Or with what thought sleepst thou in *Libia* shoare?
If that all glorie hath forsaken thee,
And thou despise the praise of such attempts;
Yet thinke vpon *Ascanius* prophesie, [1490]
And yong *Iulus* more then thousand yeares,
40 Whom I haue brought from *Ida*, where he slept,
And bore yong *Cupid* vnto *Cypresse* Ile.
Æn. This was my mother that beguild the Queene,
And made me take my brother for my sonne :
No maruell, *Dido*, though thou be in loue,
45 That daylie danlest *Cupid* in thy armes :
Welcome, sweet child; where hast thou been this long?
Asca. Eating sweet Comfites with Queene *Didos* maide,
Who euer since hath luld me in her armes. [1500]

30 Too, too *Hurst, Rob., Dyce*[1], *Cun., Gro.*: Too-too *Dyce*[2], *Bul.* 35 on Lybia's *Hurst, Rob., Cun.* 39 Iulus, more *Hurst, Rob., Gro.*: Iulus' more *Dyce, Cun., Bul.* 45 dandlest *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.*

Æn. Sergestus, beare him hence vnto our ships,
Lest *Dido*, spying him, keepe him for a pledge. 50
[*Exit Sergestus with Ascanius.*]
Hermes. Spendst thou thy time about this little boy,
And giuest not eare vnto the charge I bring? |
F 3 I tell thee, thou must straight to *Italy*,
Or els abide the wrath of frowning *Ioue*. [*Exit.*]
Æn. How should I put into the raging deepe, 55
Who haue no sailes nor tackling for my ships?
What, would the Gods haue me, *Deucalion* like,
Flote vp and downe where ere the billowes driue? [1510]
Though she repairde my fleete and gaue me ships,
Yet hath she tane away my oares and masts, 60
And left me neither saile nor sterne abourd.

Enter to them Iarbas.

Iar. How now, *Æneas*, sad? what meanes these dumpes?
Æn. Iarbas, I am cleane besides my selfe;
Ioue hath heapt on me such a desperate charge,
Which neither art nor reason may atchieue, 65
Nor I deuise by what meanes to contriue.
Iar. As how, I pray? may I entreate you tell? [1520]
Æn. With speede he bids me saile to *Italy*,
When as I want both rigging for my fleete,
And also furniture for these my men. 70
Iar. If that be all, then cheare thy drooping lookes,
For I will furnish thee with such supplies:
Let some of those thy followers goe with me,
And they shall haue what thing so ere thou needst.
Æn. Thankes, good *Iarbas*, for thy friendly ayde, 75
Achates and the rest shall waite on thee,
Whil'st I rest thankfull for this curtesie. [1530]
Exit Iarbas and Æneas traine.
Now will I haste vnto *Lauinian* shoare,

50 S.D. *Exit*...] *Dyce, Bul.*: *om. Q.* 52 giv'st *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 54 S.D. *Exit.*] *Dyce, Bul., Gro.*: *om. Q.* 61 S.D. *Enter Iarbas. Dyce, Bul.* 62 mean *Hurst etc. ex. Bul., Gro.* 77 S.D. *Exeunt all except Æneas. Dyce, Bul.*

And raise a new foundation to old *Troy*:
80 Witnes the Gods, and witnes heauen and earth,
How loth I am to leaue these *Libian* bounds,
But that eternall *Iupiter* commands.

Enter Dido.

Dido. I feare I sawe *Æneas* little sonne,
Led by *Achates* to the Troian fleete: |
85 If it be so, his father meanes to flye: [1540] F 3v
But here he is; now, *Dido*, trie thy wit.
Æneas, wherefore goe thy men abourd?
Why are thy ships new rigd? or to what end,
Launcht from the hauen, lye they in the Rhode?
90 Pardon me, though I aske; loue makes me aske.
Æn. O, pardon me, if I resolue thee why:
Æneas will not faine with his deare loue;
I must from hence: this day, swift *Mercury*,
When I was laying a platforme for these walles,
95 Sent from his father *Ioue*, appeard to me, [1550]
And in his name rebukt me bitterly
For lingering here, neglecting *Italy*.
Dido. But yet *Æneas* will not leaue his loue?
Æn. I am commaunded by immortall *Ioue*,
100 To leaue this towne and passe to *Italy*,
And therefore must of force.
Dido. These words proceed not from *Æneas* heart.
Æn. Not from my heart, for I can hardly goe;
And yet I may not stay: *Dido*, farewell.
105 *Dido.* Farewell! is this the mends for *Didos* loue?
Doe Troians vse to quit their Louers thus? [1561]
Fare well may *Dido*, so *Æneas* stay;
I dye, if my *Æneas* say farewell.
Æn. Then let me goe and neuer say farewell:

82 commands. S.D. *Exit. Hurst, Rob., Cun. After this line a new scene (Scene II) is begun in Rob., Cun. The other eds. do not divide th[e] act at all.* S.D. *Enter Dido.*] *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.*: *Enter Dido and Æneas. Q*: *Enter Dido and Æneas severally. Gro.* 86 wit. S.D. *Aside. Dyce, Bul.* wit. S.D. *Enter Æneas. Hurst, Rob., Cun.* 89 road *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.*

Let me goe; farewell: I must from hence. 110
Dido. These words are poyson to poore *Didos* soule:
O, speake like my *Æneas*, like my loue.
Why look'st thou toward the sea? the time hath been
When *Didos* beautie chaind thine eyes to her:
Am I lesse faire then when thou sawest me first? [1570] 115
O, then, *Æneas*, tis for griefe of thee:
Say thou wilt stay in *Carthage* with thy Queene,
And *Didos* beautie will returne againe.
Æneas, say, how canst thou take thy leaue?
Wilt thou kisse *Dido*? O, thy lips haue sworne 120
To stay with *Dido*: canst thou take her hand? |
F 4 Thy hand and mine haue plighted mutuall faith,
Therefore, vnkind *Æneas*, must thou say,
Then let me goe, and neuer say farewell. [1579]
Æn. O Queene of *Carthage*, wert thou vgly blacke, 125
Æneas could not choose but hold thee deare;
Yet must he not gainsay the Gods behest.
Dido. The Gods? what Gods be those that seeke my death?
Wherein haue I offended *Iupiter*,
That he should take *Æneas* from mine armes? 130
O no, the Gods wey not what Louers doe;
It is *Æneas* calles *Æneas* hence,
And wofull *Dido*, by these blubbred cheekes,
By this right hand, and by our spousall rites,
Desires *Æneas* to remaine with her: [1590] 135
Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam
Dulce meum, miserere domus labentis; & istam,
Oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
Æn. Desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis;
Italiam non sponte sequor. 140

110 Let me go; farewell none: I *Dyce*[2]: Let me go is farewell! I *Cun.*: O let me goe,—farewell,—I *Gro.*: Let me go, farewell or none I *Gro. conj.*: Let me forgo farewell *Deigh. conj.* 114 chaind] *Rob. etc.*: chaungd *Q.* 115 saw'st *Hurst etc.* 117 thy] *Hurst etc.*, 'but "my" yields a good sense.' *Gro.*: my *Q.* 119 leaue? S.D. *He kisses her Gro.* 124 farewell.] farewell? *Dyce*[2], *Bul.* 138 *adhuc*] *Hurst etc.*: *ad hæc Q.*

Dido. Hast thou forgot how many neighbour kings
Were vp in armes, for making thee my loue?
How *Carthage* did rebell, *Iarbas* storme,
And all the world calles me a second *Helen,*
145 For being intangled by a strangers lookes? [1600]
So thou wouldst proue as true as *Paris* did,
Would, as faire *Troy* was, *Carthage* might be sackt,
And I be calde a second *Helena*!
Had I a sonne by thee, the griefe were lesse,
150 That I might see *Æneas* in his face:
Now if thou goest, what canst thou leaue behind,
But rather will augment then ease my woe?
Æn. In vaine, my loue, thou spendst thy fainting breath;
If words might moue me, I were ouercome. [1609]
155 *Dido.* And wilt thou not be mou'd with *Didos* words?
Thy mother was no Goddesse, periurd man,
Nor *Dardanus* the author of thy stocke;
But thou art sprung from *Scythian Caucasus,* |
And Tygers of *Hircania* gaue thee sucke. F 4v
160 Ah, foolish *Dido,* to forbeare this long!
Wast thou not wrackt vpon this *Libian* shoare,
And cam'st to *Dido* like a Fisher swaine?
Repairde not I thy ships, made thee a King,
And all thy needie followers Noblemen?
165 O Serpent, that came creeping from the shoare, [1620]
And I for pitie harbord in my bosome;
Wilt thou now slay me with thy venomed sting,
And hisse at *Dido* for preseruing thee?
Goe, goe, and spare not; seeke out *Italy*:
170 I hope that that which loue forbids me doe,
The Rockes and Sea-gulfes will performe at large,
And thou shalt perish in the billowes waies,
To whom poore *Dido* doth bequeath reuenge:
I, traytor; and the waues shall cast thee vp,
175 Where thou and false *Achates* first set foote; [1630]

144 calles] call'd *Hurst etc. ex. Bul., Gro.* 160 this] thus *Hurst, Rob.*
161 wreck'd *Hurst etc. ex. Dyce* [1], *Gro.*

Which, if it chaunce, Ile giue ye buriall,
And weepe vpon your liueles carcases,
Though thou nor he will pitie me a whit.
Why star'st thou in my face? if thou wilt stay,
Leape in mine armes; mine armes are open wide: 180
If not, turne from me, and Ile turne from thee:
For, though thou hast the heart to say farewell,
I haue not power to stay thee: [*Exit Æneas.*] is he gone?
I, but heele come againe, he cannot goe;
He loues me to too well to serue me so: [1640] 185
Yet he, that in my sight would not relent,
Will, being absent, be obdurate still.
By this is he got to the water side;
And, see, the Sailers take him by the hand,
But he shrinkes backe; and now, remembring me, 190
Returnes amaine: welcome, welcome, my loue!
But wheres *Æneas*? ah, hees gone, hees gone!

[*Enter Anna.*]

Anna. What meanes my sister, thus to raue and crye?
Dido. O *Anna*, my *Æneas* is abourd,
And, leauing me, will saile to *Italy*. | [1650] 195
G 1 Once didst thou goe, and he came backe againe;
Now bring him backe, and thou shalt be a Queene,
And I will liue a priuate life with him.
Anna. Wicked *Æneas*.
Dido. Call him not wicked, sister; speake him faire, 200
And looke vpon him with a Mermaides eye;
Tell him, I neuer vow'd at *Aulis* gulfe
The desolation of his natiue *Troy*,
Nor sent a thousand ships vnto the walles,

177 lifeless *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 182 say, farewell *Hurst, Rob., Gro.* 183 S.D. *Exit Æneas.*] *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.*: *om. Q*: *turns away Gro.* gone? S.D. *Exit Æneas. Gro.* 185 too, too *Hurst, Rob., Dyce*[1], *Cun.*: too-too *Dyce*[2], *Bul.* 187 obdurate] *Hurst etc.*: abdurate *Q.* 192 S.D. *Enter Anna.*] *Hurst etc.*: *om. Q.* 200 wicked, sister; speake] *Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: . . . sister: speak *Dyce, Bul.*: wicked, sister speake *Q*: wicked; sister, speake *Gro.*

205 Nor euer violated faith to him: [1660]
Request him gently (*Anna*) to returne;
I craue but this, he stay a tide or two,
That I may learne to beare it patiently;
If he depart thus suddenly, I dye:
210 Run, *Anna*, run; stay not to answere me.
Anna. I goe, faire sister; heauens graunt good successe.
Exit Anna.

Enter the Nurse.

Nurse. O *Dido*, your little sonne *Ascanius*
Is gone! he lay with me last night, [1670]
And in the morning he was stolne from me:
215 I thinke some Fairies haue beguiled me.
Dido. O cursed hagge and false dissembling wretch!
That slayest me with thy harsh and hellish tale,
Thou for some pettie guift hast let him goe,
And I am thus deluded of my boy:
220 Away with her to prison presently,
Traytoresse too keend and cursed Sorceresse.
Nurse. I know not what you meane by treason, I;
I am as true as any one of yours. *Exit the Nurse.*
Dido. Away with her; suffer her not to speake. [1681]
225 My sister comes; I like not her sad lookes.

Re-enter Anna.

Anna. Before I came, *Æneas* was abourd,
And, spying me, hoyst vp the sailes amaine; |
But I cride out, *Æneas*, false *Æneas*, stay. G 1v
Then gan he wagge his hand, which, yet held vp,
230 Made me suppose he would haue heard me speake:
Then gan they driue into the Ocean;
Which, when I viewd, I cride, *Æneas*, stay, [1690]

211 S.D. *exit. Hurst etc.* 217 slay'st *Hurst etc. ex. Gro.* 220 presently, S.D. *Enter Attendants. Dyce, Bul.* 221 too keend] too keen *Hurst, Rob.*: to kind *Coll. conj., Deigh. conj.*: too kenn'd *Cun., Bul.*: too, keend *Gro.* 223 S.D. *Exit the Nurse.*] *Gro.*: *Exeunt the Nurse. Q*: *exit. Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: *Exit Nurse with Attendants.* (*after l.* 224) *Dyce, Bul.* 225 S.D. *Re-enter Anna.*] *Hurst etc.*: *Enter Anna. Q.* 228 *Omit* stay. *Mitf. conj.*

Dido, faire *Dido* wils *Æneas* stay:
Yet he, whose heart's of adamant or flint,
My teares nor plaints could mollifie a whit: 235
Then carelesly I rent my haire for griefe;
Which seene to all, though he beheld me not,
They gan to moue him to redresse my ruth,
And stay a while to heare what I could say;
But he, clapt vnder hatches, saild away. 240

Dido. O *Anna*, *Anna*, I will follow him.

Anna. How can ye goe, when he hath all your fleete?

Dido. Ile frame me wings of waxe, like *Icarus*, [1701]
And, ore his ships, will soare vnto the Sunne,
That they may melt, and I fall in his armes; 245
Or els Ile make a prayer vnto the waues,
That I may swim to him, like *Tritons* neece:
O *Anna*, fetch *Orions* Harpe,
That I may tice a Dolphin to the shoare,
And ride vpon his backe vnto my loue. 250
Looke, sister, looke, louely *Æneas* ships;
See, see, the billowes heaue him vp to heauen, [1710]
And now downe falles the keeles into the deepe:
O sister, sister, take away the Rockes;
Theile breake his ships. O *Proteus*, *Neptune*, *Ioue*, 255
Saue, saue *Æneas*, *Didos* leefest loue!
Now is he come on shoare, safe without hurt;
But see, *Achates* wils him put to sea,
And all the Sailers merrie make for ioy;
But he, remembring me, shrinkes backe againe: 260
See where he comes; welcome, welcome, my loue.

Anna. Ah, sister, leaue these idle fantasies; [1720]
Sweet sister, cease; remember who you are.

Dido. *Dido* I am, vnlesse I be deceiu'd; |
G 2 And must I raue thus for a runnagate? 265

234 heart's] *Hurst etc.*: heart *Q.* 244 ship *Hurst, Rob., Cun.* 248 O Anna, Anna, fetch *Dyce conj., Cun., Bul., Gro.* Arions *Dyce etc.* 252 heave 'em *Dyce*[2]: heave them *Cun.* 253 fall *Hurst etc. ex. Bul., Gro.* 257 shoare. . . hurt] *Dyce, Bul.*: shoare safe without hurt *Q*: shore safe, without hurt *Hurst, Rob., Cun., Gro.*

Must I make ships for him to saile away?
Nothing can beare me to him but a ship,
And he hath all my fleete: what shall I doe,
But dye in furie of this ouersight?
270 I, I must be the murderer of my selfe:
No, but I am not; yet I will be straight.
Anna, be glad; now haue I found a meane [1730]
To rid me from these thoughts of Lunacie:
Not farre from hence
275 There is a woman famoused for arts,
Daughter vnto the Nimphs *Hesperides*,
Who wild me sacrifize his ticing relliques:
Goe, *Anna*, bid my seruants bring me fire. *Exit Anna.*

Enter Iarbas.

Iar. How long will *Dido* mourne a strangers flight,
280 That hath dishonord her and *Carthage* both?
How long shall I with griefe consume my daies,
And reape no guerdon for my truest loue? [1740]
Dido. Iarbas, talke not of *Æneas*, let him goe;
Lay to thy hands and helpe me make a fire,
285 That shall consume all that this stranger left,
For I entend a priuate Sacrifize,
To cure my minde, that melts for vnkind loue.
Iar. But afterwards will *Dido* graunt me loue?
Dido. I, I, *Iarbas*, after this is done,
290 None in the world shall haue my loue but thou:
So, leaue me now; let none approach this place.
Exit Iarbas.
Now, *Dido*, with these reliques burne thy selfe, [1750]
And make *Æneas* famous through the world,

268 my] *Hurst etc.*: thy *Q*. 270 Aye, I *Hurst, Rob., Cun.*: Ay, I *Dyce, Bul.* 271 straight. S.D. *Aside. Dyce*[2], *Bul.* 274–5 Not farre . . . arts,] *As one line Q, Hurst, Rob.*: *om.* Not farre from hence *Mitf. conj.* there *Q*. 276 Daughter] Guardian to (*or* unto) *Bul. conj.* (*ref. to Æn.* iv. 484): Drugster *Deigh. conj.* 282 loue? S.D. *Enter Attendants with wood and torches. Dyce, Bul.* 283 *Iarbas*] Oh! *Mitf. conj.* 285 left: S.D. *Iarbas helps Gro.* 290 thou: S.D. *They make a fire. Dyce, Cun., Bul.* 291 *Exit Iarbas and Attendants. Dyce, Bul.*

For periurie and slaughter of a Queene:
Here lye the Sword that in the darksome Caue 295
He drew, and swore by, to be true to me:
Thou shalt burne first, thy crime is worse then his:
Here lye the garment which I cloath'd him in,
When first he came on shoare; perish thou to:
These letters, lines, and periurd papers all, | 300
G 2v Shall burne to cinders in this pretious flame.
And now, ye Gods, that guide the starrie frame, [1760]
And order all things at your high dispose,
Graunt, though the traytors land in *Italy*,
They may be still tormented with vnrest, 305
And from mine ashes let a Conquerour rise,
That may reuenge this treason to a Queene,
By plowing vp his Countries with the Sword:
Betwixt this land and that be neuer league,
Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus vndas 310
Imprecor: arma armis: pugnent ipsiq; nepotes:
Liue, false *Æneas*; truest *Dido* dyes; [1770]
Sic, sic iuuat ire sub vmbras.
[*Stabs herself and throws herself into the flames.*]

Enter Anna.

Anna. O, helpe, *Iarbas*; *Dido* in these flames
Hath burnt her selfe; aye me, vnhappie me! 315

Enter Iarbas running.

Iar. Cursed *Iarbas*, dye to expiate
The griefe that tires vpon thine inward soule;
Dido, I come to thee; aye me, *Æneas.* [*Kills himself.*]
Anna. What can my teares or cryes preuaile me now?
Dido is dead, *Iarbas* slaine; *Iarbas*, my deare loue, [1780] 320

295, 298 lye] lies *Hurst*, *Rob.*, *Dyce.* 313 S.D. *Stabs herself . . .*] *Gro.*: *om. Q*: *She casts herself into the fire. Rob.*, *Cun.*: *Throws herself into the flames. Dyce, Bul.* S.D. *Re-enter Anna. Dyce, Bul., Gro.* 315 S.D. *Re-enter . . . Dyce, Bul., Gro.* 318 S.D. *Kills himself.*] *Hurst, Rob. Cun.*, *Gro.*: *om. Q*: *Stabs himself, and dies. Dyce, Bul.* 320 *As two lines, divided after* dead, *Dyce, Bul., Gro. Considered by Mitf. to be the interpolation of an actor.*

O sweet *Iarbas*, *Annas* sole delight;
What fatall destinie enuies me thus,
To see my sweet *Iarbas* slay himselfe?
But *Anna* now shall honor thee in death,
325 And mixe her bloud with thine; this shall I doe,
That Gods and men may pitie this my death,
And rue our ends, senceles of life or breath:
Now, sweet *Iarbas*, stay, I come to thee. [*Kills herself.*]

FINIS.

328 S.D. *Kills herself.*] *Hurst, Rob., Cun., Gro.*: *om. Q*: *Stabs herself, and dies. Dyce, Bul.*